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**From Bolivar to Katari: Indigenous Representations in the Legislative
Assembly of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, 2012**

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**From Bolivar to Katari: Indigenous Representations in the Legislative
Assembly of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, 2012**

by

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Dedication

Pasarela

Los espacios son el escenario donde ocurren sucesos

De esos

que se comparten o no.

Espacios de baile, de cocina, o del espacio exterior

En lugares es donde se observan gentes

de esas gentes

que te dan abrazos o no.

Lugares de baile, de cocina, o del espacio exterior

En estos mismos lugares lento es el tiempo que se atrasa

Sin embargo, pase lo que pase

Si pasa o no pasa

De seguro que en algún lugar esta un pasa pasa.

Abstract

From Bolivar to Katari: Indigenous Representations in the Legislative Assembly of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, 2012

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The University of Texas at Austin, 2013

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The purpose of this research is to discover the new symbols and new histories that are being constructed in the Plurinational State of Bolivia on 2012. The Legislature is the main stage where the research takes place and where the new actors interact on a yet unfamiliar zone. Equally important are the tensions that arise in the building of a new discourse that aims at breaking with homogenizing and exclusionary practices of the state. The unprecedented presence of indigenous people in the Legislature has ambivalent effects for the state and the indigenous communities. The thesis aims at uncovering these effects through the analysis of discourse, symbolic representations, and quotidian political practices.

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Introduction

The recent transformation of the state in Bolivia deserves special attention not only because it questions the *status quo*¹ but because an indigenous presence is changing the functioning of the state and also the imperative political discourse that comes from the state. Morales stated “Proud of our culture, with our outfits and coca, and for the first time in our history, peasants, indigenous people, and “originarios”² enter the National Parliament”³. The Bolivian state, through the concept of plurinationality (2009) is being reconstructed. My focus is on the Legislative Assembly on 2012 in Bolivia because it is the primordial state institution where citizens are represented. This space is relevant as it is the most salient institution where ethnic, gender and racial identities are at play. In this sense, I am at discussing some of the tensions that become visible in the new plurinational state. Identities are being transformed and formed through the narration of a “new history” and “new national symbols”. Tensions become visible through the analysis of which histories are being included and excluded on the new historical account of the plurinational state.

There are many elements that are at stake in the process of a reconstruction of the Bolivian state. To name a few, there are political, economical and social networks that

¹ The Status Quo in Bolivia was characterized by a highly unequal society and an exclusionary state that was dominated by a mestizo elite. Three main political parties were dominant inside the state institutions since the return to democracy on 1980, the Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario MNR, Accion Democratica Nacionalista ADN, and the Movimiento Izquierda Revolucionario MIR.

² There is no proper translation for originario, however this word is used to refer to the native people that were in America before the Spanish. Originarios tends to refer to those indigenous people that have remained in their place of origin. Hence the term originario is closely linked to territorial claims. Indigeneity and originario are used differently since originarios are the indigenous people that were born and stayed in their place of origin. The term originarios was also established to differentiate themselves from other indigenous people that moved around in different territories.

³ Ticona Esteban, “El racismo intelectual en el Pachakuti. Connotaciones simbólicas de la presidencia de Evo Morales”, *Revista Ciencia y Cultura*, N.18, (2006).

are changing, material culture, self-representation, media, gender roles, language of politics, and politics of memory are also under transformation. In order to analyze how the Legislative Assembly is being transformed I will focus primarily on how memory is a crucial factor for state formation and its legitimacy. As Pierre Bourdieu has demonstrated through his idea of “symbolic power” this is the “Power to constitute the given by stating it, to show forth and gain credence, to confirm or transform the world view and, through it, action on the world, and hence the world itself, quasi-magical power which makes it possible to obtain the equivalent of what is obtained by (physical or economic) force”⁴. Hence Michel Foucault’s call for discursive analysis to deconstruct the ways in which power functions, not just a repressive force, but also a productive one, is useful for better understanding of redefinition that “new actors”, such as a significant indigenous presence, have on the ways the Bolivian state deploys hegemonic power.

Stuart Hall and Akhil Gupta’s⁵- James Ferguson theories on the representation of identities will also assist the reader in conceptualizing how racial, ethnic, and gender identities are being represented inside the Legislative Assembly in Bolivia. It is through Eric Hobsbawm’s⁶ (Marxist historian) “invented traditions” that there is an attempt to grasp on how the state, as Philip Abrams (historical sociologist) points out, is an ideological object that obscures and masks reality while highlighting an imaginary unity. In the Bolivian, as in many other cases certain histories-traditions are highlighted-invented in order achieve unity and cohesion and legitimize the state. Finally, Bettina Ng’weno’s⁷ work on state violence and racial overview of “marginality among

⁴ Bourdieu Pierre, “Symbolic Power”, *Critique of Anthropology*, (1979): 82-83.

⁵ GUPTA AKHIL AND JAMES FERGUSON, “BEYOND CULTURE: SPACE, IDENTITY, AND THE POLITICS OF DIFFERENCE”, *CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY*, VOLUME 7, ISSUE 1, (1992): 6-23.

⁶ Hobsbawm Eric and Ranger Terence, *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge University Press:1992).

⁷ Ng’weno Bettina, *Turf Wars*, (Stanford University Press: 2007).

marginalization” through state formations will provide the necessary tools in order to visibilize the tensions of the plurinational state in Bolivia, particularly inside the Legislative Assembly.

Other works specifically illustrate how memory in Bolivia is crucial in the construction of a new state and an indigenous presence in the state. Forrest Hylton and Sinclair Thomson’s⁸ provide important historical background of the most influential indigenous revolts led by highland indigenous people in Bolivia and how these past events have played a role in the new social movements in early 2000’s in La Paz. James Dunkerley’s work on “Bolivia: Revolution and the power of history in present Bolivia” has been especially relevant because it brings about the political history of the national revolution and the neoliberal era in Bolivia that led to the rupture of the old system by social movements and culminated with the Morales Government. Finally, the work of Fabricant and Gustafson on “Remapping Bolivia”, and John Crabtree and Laurence Whitehead “Unresolved tensions: Bolivia past and present” give an overview of how the Evo Morales government came about on a strong ethnic identity but also analyze the first effects of the new government regarding ethnic struggles. A recent publishing of Patricia Chavez⁹, that was not published until this thesis was close to be done, shows the contradictions and tensions of the indigenous presence inside the legislative as two different political logics coexist. On one side there still is a formal logic (political party and the state) and another that is the communal or “sindical¹⁰” logic. My study aims at going further with the tensions that Patricia Chavez describes by capturing a state logic

⁸ Hylton Forrest and Thomson Sinclair, *Revolutionary Horizons: Past and Present in Bolivian Politics*, (Verso: 2007).

⁹ Chavez Patricia, *¿De la colorida minoría a una mayoría gris? Presencia Indígena en el Legislativo*, (Stiftung-Gente Comun: 2012).

¹⁰ From the word sindicato which is Spanish to refer to a trade-union.

and narrative that is used in speeches, discourses, and texts by selecting certain “indigeneities” over others.

THE INDIGENOUS QUESTION INSIDE THE STATE AND THE IMPORTANCE OF AN ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE STATE

Bolivia has 62% of indigenous people according to the 2001 census and 41% of indigenous people on the 2013 census. Although ciphers may vary because of the political context, still close to 50% of the Bolivian population recognize themselves as being indigenous. About 60% of Bolivians live below the national poverty line and its concentrated on rural areas and women mainly¹¹.

The National Revolution of 1952 made it possible to have more indigenous people in national politics, however this were subordinated to the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR). During the 1980’s there were a couple of indigenous deputies from Movimiento Indio Tupaj Katari (MITKA) and during the 1990 the most important indigenous figure was Victor Hugo Cardenas vice-president of Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada’s first presidential term. The figure of Victor Hugo Cardenas gave the multicultural face that the MNR was looking for¹².

After the 1952 national revolution and the neoliberal era of the 1990’s, it was certain that the indigenous question was unresolved in Bolivian society. The national revolution aimed at “including” indigenous people into society as a class but failed to pose the racial-ethnic question in a majoritarian indigenous country. The term

¹¹ “Rural Poverty in Bolivia”, Rural poverty Portal, <http://www.ruralpovertyportal.org/country/home/tags/bolivia>.

¹² Ticona Esteban, “El racismo intelectual en el Pachakuti. Connotaciones simbólicas de la presidencia de Evo Morales”, *Revista Ciencia y Cultura*, N.18 (2006).

“campesino” was used instead of “indigenas” or “indio” in order to encourage “mestizaje” and finally create the national state. This color blind approach that the MNR party had only postponed the indigenous question. During the 1970’s some intellectuals, among them the very famous Fausto Reinaga, again reopened the indigenous debate. From this point on, an ethnic consciousness started to bloom and permeate academic and intellectual circles.

By the 1990’s the neoliberal government of the first Sanchez de Lozada government set three major reforms that would help the significant indigenous presence inside the state institutions on 2005. The first reform set by the Sanchez de Lozada government was a multicultural agenda that sought to recognize the different indigenous people in Bolivia inside the constitutional text. The second reform, *Ley de Participacion Popular*, was a decentralization reform that sought to distribute power locally through the municipios¹³. The third reform in 1997 was the creation of an electoral law that led to the empowering of local leaders by choosing them by single districts. Evo Morales was elected in a single district as a deputy for the first time after this reform was approved. On a state institutional level, these three reforms would together empower and open space for the indigenous actors on 2002 and onwards with the MAS party and ideology. Although, most of the reforms were not particularly made to enhance indigenous participation the outcomes show that it resulted to a wider indigenous presence.

The MAS presence inside the state and particularly inside the legislative assembly was given gradually in about a decade. On 1997, there were four deputies of the now MAS party, one of them was current president Evo Morales. On 2002 there were 27 deputies of the MAS party and on 2005 there was a clear breakthrough of the MAS party

¹³ Municipalities.

with 72 deputies that achieved more than 50% inside the chamber. Finally, inside the current 2009 deputy chamber there are 88 deputies from the MAS party and additionally they have accomplished a majority inside the senate. The MAS has now a clear majority in both houses. In political terms, a majority of the MAS inside the legislative and executive means that politically the party has the whole capacity to approve laws with almost a non-existent opposition inside the state institutions.

There is no doubt that the election of president Evo Morales came about with a significant indigenous presence in almost all fronts of the state, but especially inside the legislative. In this sense, it is crucial to study the new actors of the Bolivian state. These new actors are indigenous but at the same time come from different regions, ethnicities and backgrounds. There are at around 36 different indigenous groups in Bolivia. The migration processes has also made indigenous identities more complex since many indigenous people that came from rural areas to urban centers faced identities transformations. However, an indigenous 'reinvindicacion'¹⁴ has achieved to unify rural and urban indigenous people, highland and lowland indigenous people, entrepreneur and self subsistence, indigenous people, and has also achieved to gather non indigenous people in the pursue for the transformation of the state.

The Legislative space is a theater of political action and performance. The Bolivian Legislative Assembly through its actors is redefining indigenous identities while the actors themselves are being transformed inside the state structures. The thesis will follow an anthropological perspective in order to understand the meanings behind the new symbols and political practices. According to Ana Maria Alonso, an anthropology of the state needs to consider not only the creation of states in isolation but also what the

¹⁴ Claim.

states are formed against¹⁵. In this sense the study of the Bolivian state formation comprehends anthropology on a historical perspective. The Bolivian case is an example of how the Plurinational state was formed in reaction or against to the nation-state.

In Bolivia, plurinationality was sought to overcome a homogenizing and hierarchical structure that was closely linked with the nation state. Plurinationality was sought to highlight ethnic, economic, social and political difference in order to pursue more equality. In this sense, institutionalizing difference meant having a strong ethnic presence inside the state and also legalizing political practices that worked before but that were subordinated to the common law. Plurinationality was a claim that became stronger with the social movements that gained immense power on early 2000's, but that had a historical background on struggling with the Bolivian state.

An anthropology of the state also shades light on the cultural inscription of the idea of the state that has in part been secured through the spatialization of time, the transformation of becoming into being, and through the symbolic and material organization of social space¹⁶. Anthropology has been studying the structures of the state, but according to Krohn-Hansen Cristian and Nustad Knut¹⁷, scholars are increasingly realizing that the production of cultural forms and meanings are important to understand relations of domination and forms of state building in the contemporary world. In this sense, both authors highlight that anthropologist can draw insights into analysis of symbolic constructs and meanings in order to

¹⁵ Alonso Ana Maria, "The politics of Space, Time and Substance: State formation, Nationalism, and Ethnicity", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 23 (1994), 379-405.

¹⁶ Alonso Ana Maria, "The politics of Space, Time and Substance: State formation, Nationalism, and Ethnicity", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 23 (1994), 381.

¹⁷ Krohn-Hansen Cristian and Nustad Knut, *State Formation*, (Pluto Press: 2005).

develop studies of modern forms of state building¹⁸. Finally, the study of the state in anthropology has also a very important role not only because it studies the state and the transformations it causes on the communities in a given society but, it studies the state either as a model for political organization or as a negative “other”¹⁹.

To study the state from an anthropological lens my focus will primarily be the legislative assembly because is one of the most “representative” institutions of society inside the state apparatus; it is through this organism that the state tries to conglomerate the diverse actors of the country. The significant indigenous presence that now is part of the Bolivian state for the first time in its history and the focus that the MAS party has given to an indigenous identity makes relevant the study of indigeneity inside the state. The new constitution of 2009 establishes the rupture with the Republic and moves towards the construction of the Plurinational State. Plurinationality is being performed inside the legislative more than in any other institutions of the state in Bolivia as it gathers 166 deputies from around the country. On 2009, the name of the legislative was changed from “Congreso Nacional de la Republica de Bolivia” (National Congress of the Republic of Bolivia) to “Asamblea Legislativa Plurinacional”. For the presidential and cameral elections of 2009, seven indigenous districts were incorporated in order to represent indigenous minorities²⁰.

¹⁸ Ibid. 9.

¹⁹ Ibid. 3.

²⁰ The seven deputies elected under the indigenous districts are elected in the same way that the single member deputies are elected. The districts represent the following communities: 1. Chipaya and Murato from Oruro, 2. Yuracare and Yuqui from Cochabamba, 3. Chiquitano, Guarani, Guarayo, Ayoreo, Yuracare, and Mojeno from Santa Cruz, 4. Moseten, Leco, Kallahuaya, Tacana, Araona and afroboliviano from La Paz, 5. Weenhayek, Guarani and Tapiete from Tarija, 6. Yaminagua, Pacahuara Esse Ejja, Machineri and Tacana from Pando, and finally 7. Tacana, Pacahuara, Itonama, Joaquiniano, Maropa, Guarasugwe, Mojeno, Siriono, Baure, Tsimane, Movima, Cayubaba, More, Cavineno, Chacobo,

Because plurinationality is a corner stone to understand the changes and challenges of the Bolivian State it is interesting to notice how the new state creates a sense of cohesion and unity from new perspectives on a plurinational history.

MEMORY AND STATE FORMATION

Memory and history are crucial elements for state formation. Alonso states “Temporalizing and memory-making mediate the identity of people and heritage in space just as the representation and organization of space mediates the identity of people and heritage through time”²¹. In order to create a national belonging it is necessary to found solidarity among its members, in this sense solidarity rests on tropes of kinship, reproduction and a “shared substance”²². The Bolivian case is no exception. The plurinational state has been born in reaction to the nation state and is based upon difference but it is still a state that demands unity and a shared history in order to accomplish national belonging among its members.

In Bolivia, a history of indigenous rebellion from the highlands, as we will see, is more dominant than other histories inside the historical account being reconstructed by the MAS government. The majority of the indigenous population in Bolivia comes from the aymara and quechua communities from the highlands. Historically, both communities have been more involved with the state than those indigenous populations in the lowlands. Trying to grasp on which histories are being recovered by the state also makes us understand which identities are being reinforced and prevail inside the plurinational state.

Canichana, Moseten, Yuracare from Beni. Chavez Patricia, *¿De la colorida minoría a una mayoría gris? Presencia Indígena en el legislativo*. (Stiftung-Gente Comun: 2012), 122.

²¹ Alonso Ana Maria, “The politics of space, time and substance: State formation, nationalism, and ethnicity”, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 23 (1994), 387.

²² Ibid. p. 385.

Alonso's reading on David Harvey points out that immemorial spatial memory is critical to the realization of myths of community and that spatial image asserts an important power over history. Nations are commonly imagined as having a destiny and a heritage rooted in an immemorial past, and a 'selective tradition' through which the past is constructed frequently is sacralized²³. For Bakhtin, the distance between past and present is mediated by national tradition²⁴. In the process of state formation and the creation of a nation identity the state is a fundamental actor that appropriates and transforms local and regional histories and the memories of subordinated groups through the strategies of naturalization, idealization, and de-particularization. For Alonso, the institutions and personnel of the state system make strategies that select certain traditions of nationalism. This tradition is key for the construction of hegemony processes by agents and institutions of the state system. However, "A hegemonic selective tradition is always challenged by alternative and oppositional traditions that dispute dominant articulations of space, time, and substance and can even question the identity between nation and state"²⁵.

In Bolivia there is a strong questioning of the history and identity that the plurinational state seeks to create. Most of the questioning to the plurinational state however, came from a conservative sector that resisted the transformation of the state and that sought to maintain the *status quo*. Increasing questioning to the state structure in Bolivia in recent years comes from a left tradition that seeks further transformation

²³ Ibid. p. 387.

²⁴ Cited by Alonso Ana Maria, "The politics of Space, Time and Substance: State formation, Nationalism, and Ethnicity", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 23 (1994), 388.

²⁵ Ibid. 389.

towards a more equitable society²⁶. It is also worth acknowledging that historically the majority of the population in Bolivia has not been able to construct a dominant discourse because of a profound discrimination towards indigeneity. It is the first time that a majoritarian indigenous discourse that comes from the highlands is actually inside the state. However, in order to continue the “*proceso de cambio*”²⁷ it is necessary to pick up on the contradictions, tensions and, inherited injustices that continue to discriminate against significant groups inside the Bolivian society.

If a strong sense of collectivity and community is given by a shared past and history there is much to be said about how indigenous people have accomplished to maintain a strong identity, even under great moments of obscurity²⁸ of their identity. Throughout the work of Joanne Rappaport “*The politics of Memory: Native Historical Interpretation in the Colombian Andes*”, the author shows how history and memory worked as a cohesive strategy for the Nasa population during colonial periods thus achieved to gain some political autonomy for their indigenous communities. The Nasa

²⁶ This is the case of several members that were part of the leftist intellectual group named Comuna. The group started supporting the Evo Morales government and now several members, including former constituent Raul Prada, question the MAS’s approach towards indigenous struggles and class conflicts. Rebeca Delgado who was president of the Deputy Chamber back in 2012 also became a dissident of the MAS party in 2013. The Central Obrera Boliviana also started a political organization that is critical to the MAS party in April 2013. Consejo Nacional de Ayllus y Markas del Qullasuyu (CONAMAQ) signed a political agreement to form a parallel indigenous branch inside the legislative that would decolonize this institution on August the 9th 2013. The branch of CONAMAQ that still supports the MAS party does not recognize this agreement between an “illegitimate branch” of the organization. The CONAMAQ has in 2013 two branches that are separated by a sector that ally with the MAS and another sector that does not ally with the party. As time goes by it seems more branches from the MAS are becoming dissidents.

See Montes Jose, “Necesitamos nuestra propia herramienta politica”, February 22 2013, *Partido de los trabajadores Socialistas*, <http://www.pts.org.ar/Necesitamos-nuestra-propia-herramienta-politica>

See “La Diputada Rebeca Delgado ya no es del MAS”, *El Diario*, August 11 2013, http://www.eldiario.net/noticias/2013/2013_08/nt130811/politica.php?n=94.

²⁷ “Proceso de cambio” or process of change refers to the movement questions the neoliberal model, inequality and an unjust way of doing politics in Bolivia.

²⁸ During the national revolution the category peasants was imposed to indigenous communities in order to “include” them under a class categorization.

historical vision had functioned over the centuries as a foundational narrative in the process of ethnogenesis through which the Nasa redefined themselves as a modern ethnic group²⁹. In contemporary times, indigenous people in the Americas are working towards revalidating their own historical knowledge as an arm against their subordinate position in society. For them, history is a source of knowledge of how they were first subjugated and of information about their legal rights. It is the beginning of a new definition of themselves as people, a model upon which to base new national structures³⁰. For indigenous communities past is especially important in validating their rights, and it has been so even from colonial times. There is, in Rappaport's words, a notable power derived from controlling the past to in order to redefine the future³¹.

The conflict with indigenous past is that most of the times indigenous history is framed as indigenous memory or oral traditions that are non-existing in the "official history". However, indigenous history has prevailed because of the power of an organized and strong oral tradition that even though it was considered "unofficial" was still active³². Today many "unofficial" histories are being recovered and being "officialized" by the state, an example of this is the Bolivian case. However, in the process of recovering certain histories other histories are lost. In most cases, the history of local and minority indigenous histories are not being recovered as much as those that

²⁹ Rappaport Joanne, *The Politics of Memory: Native Historical Interpretation in the Colombian Andes*, (Duke University Press: 1998), Preface XI.

³⁰ Rappaport Joanne, *The Politics of Memory: Native Historical Interpretation in the Colombian Andes*, (Duke University Press: 1998), 1.

³¹ Ibid.16.

³² Appelbaum Nancy, *Muddied waters: Race, region, and local history in Colombia 1846-1948*, (Duke University Press, 2003).

the state seeks to highlight, which is that of the some majoritarian indigenous groups in the highlands.

SYMBOLIC POWER AND THE REPRESENTATIONS OF IDENTITY

Bourdieu's concept of symbolic power is a corner stone throughout this study since it describes the process of construction of the symbolic power used in the Morales government. Symbolic power is more than a direct physical power but it is the power to represent someone or something in some way. These representations together form a "regime of representation". Representational practices can be given in all sort of ways, however the most common are related to visual symbolisms that are full of meanings. In this sense, symbolic power can be portrayed as an exhibition that is constantly constructed and that persuades meaning through re-constructing a meaningful path. In Bourdieu's terms symbolic power is "the power to make people see and believe certain visions of the world rather than others"³³.

Nation making like community making, involves high degrees of "symbolic power" in order to legitimize authority and achieve unity. Nation states are entities that often perform (carry out) symbolic practices towards the nation. Among the many symbolic practices that the state performs there are some that have wider significance such as national days, presidential oaths or independence holidays in the case on ex colonies.

In the Bolivian case since 2005 there is a strong commitment of the Morales government to reconstruct a more social and inclusive state that shows an indigenous presence that is a main characteristic of the Bolivian society. The new Bolivian

³³ Bourdieu Pierre, "Symbolic Power", *Critique of Anthropology*, (1979), 4: 77.

constitution on 2009 seeks to establish the plurinational state and new symbolisms are being configured since then.

The new symbolisms that have been and still are being defined primarily are representations of the plural identities of the Bolivian society. Because the state prior to 2005, paid less to none attention to indigenous identities and focused in “mestizaje” as the main national identity, the plurinational state has highlighted indigenous identities. Identity politics in Bolivia has a central role in the political sphere since the beginning of the 21st century. This was given by a political discourse that questioned the nation state as being homogenous and highly exclusive of the majority of the country that identifies with an indigenous identity. One of the stronger arguments that Morales with the support of social organizations have made is that of strengthening identity politics and class politics.

Throughout the following study, identity becomes a “moveable feast” that is continuously formed and transformed in relation to the ways people are represented inside a cultural system. In this study, I address identity as historically and not biologically defined. Getting away from an essentialist notion of identity, the study comprehends the complexity of identities as not unified around a coherent “self”. Following, Kimberle Crenshaw’s approach to intersectionality³⁴ and Hall’s article on identity and modernity³⁵; this study understands that there are contradictory identities sometimes pulling in different directions where identities are always being shifted. In this sense, the study also acknowledges strategic essentialism as a political mean that over simplifies identity in order to achieve political goals. In other words, the study does not

³⁴ Crenshaw Kimberle, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color", *Stanford Law Review*, Vol. 43, No. 6 (Jul., 1991), pp. 1241-1299.

³⁵ [STUART HALL](#), [DAVID HELD](#), [DON HUBERT](#), [KENNETH THOMPSON](#), MODERNITY: AN INTRODUCTION TO MODERN SOCIETIES, (BLACKWELL : 1996).

understand identities as a fully unified, completed, secure, and coherent identity. The focus of identity on the study seeks to grasp the new state symbolisms and representations and not focus on its “authenticity” since what is authentic does not comprehend identities as moving and continuously formed. What is “authentic” lacks a historical construction and portrays identities as fixed on time. On the contrary, a reading of contemporary Bolivia through a historical perspective brings the concept of identity as a “moveable feast” and not as monolithic concept.

The state is one of the main cultural systems where identities are being represented in Bolivia today. National cultures are composed by cultural institutions but are also made of symbols and representations of the nation, or in the Bolivian case the nations. The plurinational state constructs identities by producing meanings about the plurinational state in the same way that the nation does³⁶. In this study I seek to disclose the plurinational narrative throughout the Morales government. Although difference is highlighted in plurinationality, the notion of unity in Bolivia is a cohesive force that seeks to maintain the state and its national territory. Symbolically, the tricolor flag, the coat of arms and the independence heroes are still present although many other symbols have been included, as I will show in the study.

Eric Hobsbawm’s concept of “invented traditions”³⁷ will also inform the study at it acknowledges history as the main force that legitimates action as the cohesive force of the community. Invented traditions according to Hobsbawm are the set of practices that are manifested and accepted formally and tacitly. Usually, they have a ritual or symbolic nature that seeks to form norms and values of behavior by repetition. When possible, the

³⁶ Hall Stuart, Held David, Hubert Don, Thompson Kenneth, *Modernity: an Introduction to Modern Societies*, (Blackwell, 1996), 613.

³⁷ Hobsbawm Eric and Ranger Terence, *The Invention of Tradition*, (University Press: 1992).

author states, these practices try to establish continuity with the past. In this study however, the concept of invented traditions will be used in terms of how the plurinational narrative attempts to form a link towards an indigenous past that goes back to the creation of the Bolivian state in 1825. “Invented traditions” will not be addressed when analyzing the plurinational narrative as invented, since the study does not make a difference between what is an “invented tradition” and what is an “authentic tradition” because in many ways all traditions are invented. In this sense, the study does not question the authenticity of the new symbols and discourses but analyzes what histories are being recovered and which ones are being ignored.

The representation of identities and the symbolic power the plurinational state creates to legitimize a new unity finds a major role in the performance of this identities inside the legislative space in Bolivia. The legislative will be conceptualized as a political theater where actual ethnic, social and gender identities are at display and performed constantly. In this political stage, the legislative is a representational space where identities are being redefined around political issues. The centrality of studying how indigenous identities are being redefined inside the legislative space has a major importance on the political forces that are inside the legislative and how this space also affects identities at a national level.

STATE FORMATION AND PLURINATIONALITY

States in Latin America have tried to consolidate from the XIX until the XXI century. Their formation has been in many ways ambivalent. In one hand state constructions in Latin America have accomplished in some way to build national identities but in many cases at the cost of violent racial inequalities that have privileged mestizos and discriminated against indigenous and black people. The state in Bolivia has

accomplished on 2005 significant indigenous participation and the MAS party has based its ideology on an indigenous and class identity that together with a left non-indigenous people has created a plural cohesion.

A plurinational ideology is part of a wider Latin American movement that gained strength during the 1980s and 1990s as social movements based on ethnicity, among other issue-driven efforts, gained political momentum through complex mobilizations, international networks, and use of legal mechanisms³⁸. The expansion of plurinationality is a multifaceted political transformation that cannot be explained with single variables³⁹. Plurinationality forms part of a struggle to change state-society relations, specifically concerning indigenous people.

As a result, the most efficient struggle to change the state has been directly with it. The political project of plurinationality seeks the autonomy and self-determination of indigenous communities without independence from the state, rather, a comprehensive inclusion of indigenous rights into the legal (and symbolic) frameworks of the state. Ultimately, this means a politics of recognition and deeper democratization without assimilationist tendencies. It seeks the inclusion of community practices and demands from social movements that value dialogue and consensus over majority rule ⁴⁰. Examples of new constitutions that recognize these rights not only include Bolivia but also Ecuador and Colombia.

³⁸ Benavides Vanegas, Farid Samir. "Movimientos Indígenas y Estado Plurinacional en América Latina", *Pensamiento Jurídico* 27 (2010), 239-264.

³⁹ Van Cott, Donna Lee. "Latin America's Indigenous Peoples", *Journal of Democracy* 18 (2008), 127-141.

⁴⁰ Benavides Vanegas, Farid Samir. "Movimientos Indígenas y Estado Plurinacional en América Latina", *Pensamiento Jurídico* 27 (2010), 239-264.

According to Alonso, nationalist representations of the past that are produced by those in control of the state system have the power to appropriate and transform local and regional histories. In this sense, the author points out that there are pasts that cannot be incorporated and from then on become particularized to the margins of the national and denied a public voice. Thus, the institutions and personnel of the state system produce a selective tradition of nationalism, which is key for the consolidation of the idea of the state. Hegemony is constructed in this sense by the traditions that are reproduced by agents and institutions of the state system.⁴¹ In some states that seek to highlight difference, union is shaped through an “incorporation of difference” while state strategies of spatialization, substantialization, aestheticization, commodification, and temporalization are important elements for the construction of transformist forms of hegemony⁴². For Alonso, once the state has appropriated a multicultural agenda that “allows” plurality; race and culture are conflated and the state gives itself a privileged role in building community out of difference. Consequently, the ethnic heritage of low status subjects is aestheticized and commodified by the state⁴³.

In this sense, state violence is present even when historically the Bolivian state is successfully achieving to construct a counter discourse that claims for indigenous issues and their presence in its institutions. Throughout Ngweno’s book “Turf Wars”⁴⁴, the author explains the territorial situation of black communities in the specific region of Buenos Aires and how a dichotomous relationship has been present between afro-colombians and the state when dealing on territorial rights. The author points out when

⁴¹ Alonso Ana Maria, “The politics of space, time and substance: State formation, nationalism, and ethnicity”, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 23 (1994), 389.

⁴² Ibid. 393.

⁴³ Ibid. 396.

⁴⁴ Ng’weno Bettina, *Turf Wars*, (Stanford University Press: 2007).

analyzing the incorporation of local leadership into the state administration that the so longed incorporation may lead to the division of organizations and diminish their power. Ngweno's strengthens its last argument by citing Rappaport on her work on the indigenous leaders that are now "within the state". Rappaport "points out that the leaders are isolated from, and by, their communities as they become part of the state and that they have found that reconfiguration of the state is particularly elusive"⁴⁵. In this sense both authors, seem to grasp on the idea that once indigenous or African-colombians enter the state institutions they become less autonomous from the state and more isolated from their communities. Following a similar line, Ngweno then asserts that, for the Colombian case, "territorial claims legitimize and extend state power while still questioning and limiting it"⁴⁶. In other words, ethnic organizations question the institutions that the state administers while at the same time legitimates the state power by acknowledging it as an interlocutor for its claims. Many ethnic organizations in Bolivia have been going on through similar ambivalence towards their incorporation inside the state. The legislative assembly will be the institution of the Bolivian state that will guide this study to show how in one sense, how ethnic demands are being empowered but at the same time are loosing their autonomy.

SIMILAR WORKS

A recent key research by Patricia Chavez shows the indigenous presence inside the legislative from 2002 until 2010. The book named "¿De la colorida minoria a una mayoria gris? Presencia indigena en el Legislativo", was published after most of the research done in this thesis. However, it is worth pointing out that even though much of

⁴⁵ Alonso Ana Maria, "The politics of", 226.

⁴⁶ Ng'weno Bettina, *Turf Wars*.... 227.

the information provided inside Chavez's work could not be included inside this version of this thesis, her work, like the main argument of this research points out at the tensions that arise once an indigenous presence was achieved inside the state. However, the focus on the new histories, new symbolic representations, discourse analysis and participant observation are the elements on which my work is based on. Chavez's work offers a comparative perspective of three different legislative assemblies and thus, accomplishes to trace the process of an indigenous presence inside the legislative.

The work that Forrest Hylton and Sinclair Thomson have done in the book "*Revolutionary Horizons*" argues that a third revolution was achieved in Bolivia during the first years of the twenty first century. Both authors state that a historical perspective is essential to understand contemporary Bolivian politics. They argue that the convergence of two traditions of political struggle is what forms the current political forces in Bolivia with the MAS party. The first tradition comes from the Indian tradition of political struggle and the other one comes from theorist Rene Zavaleta Mercado and what he establishes as the "national-popular" tradition. For the authors, the Indian tradition of political struggle can be tracked back to the revolutions held by Tupak Katari, Tupak Amaru and Tomas Katari when the Spanish domination was challenged. The "national-popular" tradition culminated for both authors in the national revolution in 1952 when working class, peasants, and progressive forces the established oligarchic order held from the independence in 1825⁴⁷.

The authors go beyond stating that a revolution took place in early 2000's and state that the election of Evo Morales did not bring about a revolution but it was a

⁴⁷ Hylton Forrest and Thomson Sinclair, *Revolutionary Horizons: Past and present in Bolivian Politics*, (London-New York: Verso, 2007), 7.

revolution that brought about the government of Evo Morales⁴⁸. This point deserves special attention since many authors over emphasize in the figure of Morales as the precursor of the political changes that took place in Bolivia without acknowledging the massive social manifestations that had taken place previous to his election; that led to the election of the first indigenous president. “*Revolutionary Horizons*” shows how memory of past indigenous struggles triggered the mobilizations of Bolivia’s third revolution that had accomplished to the solidification of ethnic and national-popular identities along with the imagination of a more democratic future⁴⁹.

Like *Revolutionary Horizons*, James Dunkerley’s work on “*Bolivia: Revolution and the Power of History in the Present*” focuses on the power of history and a collective memory that persisted on indigenous communities that eventually became a central force of mobilization. However, Dunkerley questions the revolutionary moment of 1781 that Hylton and Thomson establishes by asserting that during the independence in 1825 more revolutionary changes occurred. Dunkerley’s main argument calls for a less simplified view on ethnic politics in Bolivia because according to the author ethnic identity in Bolivia has never been a clear-cut. Indigenous people, in this sense, have had an ambivalent relationship with the mestizo-creole state. Under certain circumstances indigenous people have supported and in others contested the state⁵⁰. James Dunkerley calls for a more complex analysis on ethnic demands and identities since Bolivian ethnic history has a messier component of the historical momentums. Both Dunkerley and Hylton-Thomson focus on the power of history as a central factor for the social

⁴⁸ Ibid. 17.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 19.

⁵⁰ Dunkerley James, *Bolivia: Revolution and the Power of History in the Present*, (Institute for the Study of the Americas, University of London: 2007).

movements of early 2000's. However, this thesis aims at not only describing how a new history is narrated but at the tensions that are created in the construction of this process.

“Remapping Bolivia” is a compilation of both North Americans and Bolivian academics on the new political configurations that have been happening in Bolivia since the rise of Morales and the MAS party. Bret Gustafson and Nicole Fabricant, suggest that for indigenous and nonindigenous people the cultural and political upheaval has reconfigured the political forces inside and outside the state. As a result, “a new, complex, and often conflictive geopolitics of space that involves remapping’s of territorial orders across multiple scales, from the microspaces, of daily life in the homes, markets, and streets of the cities to macroregional struggles over jurisdiction, resource control, and sovereignty”⁵¹. According to both authors indigenous movements in Bolivia are already reshaping the state in articulation with new expressions of indigenous and popular movements in rural and urban centers and peripheries. However, some tensions arise with the “inclusion” of indigenous people that is between Andean and lowland indigenous people, between migrant settlers and farmers that complicate an indigenous agenda⁵².

For Fabricant and Gustafson a racialization process has privileged the notion of the noble savage to the indigenous people on the lowlands while tending to associate the figure of the colla (Andean) as an invader. This vision has been supported greatly by some in the east as conceptualizing the colla as a subjugator and dispossessor⁵³. However, the elites of the east have also tended to undermine the strong presence of

⁵¹ Fabricant Nicole and Gustafson Bret, *Remapping Bolivia*, (The School for Advanced Research: 2011), 3.

⁵² Ibid. 12.

⁵³ Ibid. 10.

collas and indigenous people that immigrated to Santa Cruz and some indigenous people that are native to the region. The political narrative of a “mestizo” Santa Cruz has been also strategic to consolidate the east’s elite in opposition to the MAS project. In reality the MAS had about of 40% of the electorate in Santa Cruz, which is not low, taking into consideration that this region is characterized by being politically one of the most conservative of all the regions in Bolivia.

In the following study many analytical elements of the books mentioned above will be addressed. The first element is that of the importance of memory in the construction of the plurinational symbols in the reconfiguration of the state. The second element is the remapping of the identities and political forces now that a strong indigenous presence is inside the legislative assembly. The third element mentioned in the last chapter will be the tensions that arise of an increasingly powerful state and the conditions on which the new actors get involved inside the legislative.

CHAPTER ORGANIZATION

The first chapter seeks to contextualize how the first indigenous president became elected and subsequently analyze how history and an indigenous memory are being represented inside two government discourses. The first discourse analyzed corresponds to the first official presidential speech made by Evo Morales when he was elected head of state. This discourse made on January 22nd of 2006 is also fundamental because it sets out the bases of future speeches and a wider discourse set by other public figures of the MAS party. At the same time, the speech made inside the Legislative has been important because the election of the first indigenous president got massive attention and expectatives nationally and internationally. The second discourse that will be analyzed is the preamble of the constitutional text approved on 2009. The preamble, although its

about a page long, makes important references to the making of a 'new' history in Bolivia and cites historical referents that will be repeated in future speeches and texts of the government. The preamble of the constitution also captures the ethical and ideological bases set by the MAS and the new constitution. Both, the presidential speech inside the Parliament, and the preamble of the constitution, are representative of a wider historical and ideological representation of the MAS in the attempt of creating a new state.

The second chapter analyzes the legislative assembly as a space where identities are at display and being redefined with a strong sense of an indigenous memory and past. Symbolism is especially important inside a representational space because identities are being performed constantly. It is through a system of symbolism that identities are being represented inside the legislative assembly. The first chapter aims at discovering the new national symbols and representations inside the legislative space over the old 'republican' symbols. Indigenous figures such as Bartolina Sisa and Tupac Katari have a central role on the creation of a plurinationality that highlights indigeneity. Reinterpretations of an indigenous identity through the use of historical figures that seek to unify a sense of plurinationality are being encountered. New symbols and representations are being placed over old ones in order to construct a counter hegemonic movement that seeks to resolve the so long indigenous inequality in the country. However, there are unresolved tensions that come from before the MAS government and new tensions that arrive with a new state project.

The third and final chapter attempts to grasp on the unresolved tensions of a homogenized indigenous identity and it seeks to disclose some of the dangers for indigenous organizations and communities inside a gradually stronger state. Although, there is a lot of literature that refers to the positive effects of an indigenous presence

inside the legislative assembly because it challenges the nation-state, little has been said on how the state institutions may affect negatively indigenous identities and claims from the bottom. More discussion has been made on a national level, of how majoritarian indigenous identities have been more dominant than other indigenous identities in recent years. At the same time, urban feminist groups have already questioned decolonization without a despatriarcalization of the state. This chapter is specially informed by interviews and participative observation inside the Legislative Assembly during the year of 2012 in La Paz Bolivia.

Chapter 1

This chapter will discuss and analyze the discourses for the creation of a common plurinational⁵⁴ identity for the new state in Bolivia. The first established indigenous government, led by the Evo Morales and the MAS government has a particular notion of temporality and history that are different to the nation state built back in 1952⁵⁵. For the national revolution of 1952 the cohesive element was “mestizaje” and social class, for the Morales government it is plurinationality and a strong ethnic cleavage.

In order to argue that in fact the MAS⁵⁶ movement created a unified indigenous identity based on a historical perspective, I will analyze two main political discourses. The first moment analyzed is the presidential speech that Evo Morales gave on 2006, the second moment is the preamble of the 2009 constitution, which was executed mainly by the MAS party.

⁵⁴ The plurinational aspect is the main characteristic inside the Bolivian constitution of 2009. The name “Republic of Bolivia” was changed to “Plurinational State of Bolivia” in order to constitutionalizes difference and legitimized it as well. This thesis will dig deeper on the plurinational aspect later on the thesis.

⁵⁵ One of the main elements that characterized the revolution of 1952, which was leaded by the Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario (MNR), was “mestizaje”. The MNR had a strong class based ideology that sought to include indigenous people as “campesinos” (peasants) and as part of the lower economic class in Bolivia. This ideology did not acknowledge politically a racial or ethnic element of the population.

⁵⁶ MAS or Movimiento al Socialismo is the political party leaded by Evo Morales. The acronym was borrowed from another party because they did not have their own acronym for the elections of 2002. Evo Morales Ayma was born in Oruro in 1959 and in the 80’s he went, as part of a wider migration to the Chapare to earn a living growing coca. He was the President of the Confederación de Trabajadores del Trópico Cochabambino, a trade union who assembled peasants devoted to the production of coca in the Chapare region of Cochabamba. Evo Morales became Deputy for Cochabamba and fought against the policy of coca eradication by the government of Sánchez de Lozada. He also leaded the most important demonstrations against the neo liberal regime Sánchez de Lozada from 1992 to 1997 and from 2002 to 2003. He run to be President in 2005 and obtained 54% of the votes. The bibliography on Evo Morales and the MAS is important. See recent books of Seven Harten, *The Rise of Evo Morales and the MAS*, (Zed Books: 2011). Also see Pearce Adrian, *Evo Morales and the Movimiento Al Socialismo in Bolivia: The First Term in Context, 2005-2009*, (London: Institute for the Study of the Americas: 2011).

The social movements of 2002-2005 are essential to understand both the first speech made by Evo Morales inside the Legislative Assembly in 2006 and the preamble of the Constitution of 2009 that is the result of the Constitutional Assembly where the MAS party was dominant.

LACK OF LEGITIMACY: THE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS OF 2000-2005 DEMAND A CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY

The political crisis nourished the main political demands that were established by the social movements, which were later on translated into the MAS's main agenda. Three main mobilizations were the base for the ongoing protests that erupted from the early two thousands until 2005. The first social movement in Cochabamba from January to April 2000 is known as "Guerra del Agua" or "Water War". The conflict was initiated due to problems between a privatized water company and poor neighborhoods that did not have easy access to water⁵⁷. The second massive social movement in February 2003 was known as the "Impuestazo" or tax reform and took place after the Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada⁵⁸ government made a new tax policy over salaries⁵⁹. That year the police joined

⁵⁷ The name describes a series of protests and an uprising that took place in Cochabamba against the privatization of the city's municipal water company Semapa. The new Company, *Aguas del Tunari*, was a consortium led by International Water Ltd from England, the firm Edison from Italy, the Bechtel Enterprise from USA and two companies from Bolivia. Oscar Olivera was the most outspoken leader who was able to reunite the regents or peasants who had a system of irrigation, the people of the popular markets of Cochabamba, the students, and other groups angry with the rises in the water taxes under the umbrella of a new organization: the *Coordination for the Defense of Water and Life (Coordinadora para la defensa del Agua y de la Vida)* that demanded the end of the contract with *Aguas del Tunari*. A general strike took place for several days. There were around 70 protesters arrested. Finally the Ministerial delegation agreed to put end to the contract and Bolivia followed by the legal disputes.

⁵⁸ Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada was elected President of Bolivia for a first term between 1993-1997 and for a second term between 2002-2005. He was raised in the United States and he spoke Spanish with a strong American accent. He was called then "gringo" and Goni. He was also a very rich man with important enterprises in the mines. He returned to Bolivia from the United States during one of the most important economic crisis of the XXth Century in Bolivia. As member of the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR), he used a "shock therapy" with the advice of the Harvard

the strikes in La Paz, rejected the tax policy, demanded salary raises and ultimately confronted the army, which stood alongside the government during these clashes. The battlefield of this confrontation was given in historical plaza Murillo. The culmination of a wave of many strikes, “bloqueos” and social movements that were given in five years was the “Guerra del Gas” or “Gas War” in October 2003. The governmental plan to export gas to Mexico and the United States, through Chilean ports resulted with massive protests and “bloqueos”. The historical demand of a sovereign port through Chile was present since the Pacific War of 1879, when Bolivia lost its sea territories and was landlocked⁶⁰. This demand was never accomplished, however there was and still is a national claim to regain an exit to the sea through Chilean territory⁶¹. Many social mobilizations started blockading the main roads that lead to the city of La Paz refusing to export gas through Chilean ports. History through collective memory was present particularly in this last event. People had present how Bolivia had lost its sea and were also hesitant of the government’s decision to export gas without a referendum. A history of unequal exchange between foreign enterprises and national governments that resulted in violent extractions of natural resources detonated protests all over the country but mainly in La Paz.

University economist Jeffrey Sachs in order to cut the hyperinflation from an estimated 25,000%. He led the dismantling of the state-capitalist model that had prevailed in the country since the 1952 Revolution and begun the period of neoliberalism. In 2003 he was obliged to resign and went into exile to the United States after violent protests related to the Bolivian gas conflict in which some 60 protesters, soldiers and policemen died.

⁵⁹ The salary tax was made in order to diminish the fiscal deficit. The new tax policy was made for salaries over the 2000 bolivianos per month, which is approximately 300 dollars.

⁶⁰ The defeat at the hands of Chile in the War of the Pacific (1879-1883), the *Guano and Saltpeter War* (*Guerra del Guano y el Salitre*), brought the loss of Bolivia’s entire coastal territory and valuable natural resources.

⁶¹ The Bolivian Government led by Evo Morales started a demand to Chile on 2013 to the International Court of Justice to reclaim access to the Pacific Ocean.

The magnitude and leading role of these movements can only be understood in terms of their great power to mobilize and block gas and other products from entering the biggest city in the country, La Paz. The city was paralyzed for weeks between September and October 2003. Clearly, the state was unable to respond to the demands made by social movements. Even elites also questioned the state's ability to resolve conflict when they had to face a paralyzed city for several weeks; these groups perceived a weak government that could not stop interruptions to many business and commercial enterprises. Conversations about a lack of legitimacy of the state were discussed daily among the public sphere and quotidian small talk during 2000-2005.

During the crisis, Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, “Goni”, represented the “gringo” of the country, the foreigner, the other who was once again “selling” the natural resources of the country. He catalyzed the memory of centuries of flowing of silver, tin and oil; the men who become rich and richer at the expenses of the country like the legendary figure of the king tin Simón Patiño. Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada with his American English accent, represented what most people did not look or talk like in Bolivia. The connection between the “gringo” president and the state was unavoidable; it became clear that neither the president nor the state represented the “people”. The connotations of “gringo” had become so evident, that even though this characteristic was always present, in 2003 it took a radical turn because Sanchez de Lozada did not only represent foreign interests, but also a hierarchical and unfair system where a white president that barely spoke Spanish was president of a mostly “indigenous” country. He represented foreign companies in the national territory, the “other” arriving yet again to subordinate and take away gas and water.

A generalized dissatisfaction led to a profound legitimacy crisis and the leading political forces were the social movements. Sánchez de Lozada sent the armed forces to repress the many manifestations to achieve order, however this was highly condemned as 60 deaths resulted from the confrontations. In the streets, the television news, and newspapers many discussed the idea of writing a new constitution in order to avoid political parties and presidents of deciding without consulting the citizens. The new constitution was desired as an open space to end with all the injustices and start a new beginning. What started as an opposition to gas being sold through Chilean ports⁶², ended up with the objective to make a new constitution that actually reflected the “people” in Bolivia.

In October 2003, people in the streets demanded Sanchez de Lozada, most commonly known during these times as “Goni”, to resign and leave the country. He was forced to resign on October 17th 2003 and his Vice-President, Carlos Mesa assumed power without a political party that supported him. Carlos Mesa could not handle the demands for the nationalization of the resources, the call for the Constituent Assembly in order to establish a new “social contract” and the demonstrations of social movements. He tried to quit the Presidency a couple of times and on June sixth 2005, the Legislative approved Carlos Mesa’s last resignation. On June the ninth 2005, Eduardo Rodriguez, chief justice of the Supreme Court assumed the interim presidency. Elections were held a few months later.

⁶² Aguilar Agramont Ricardo, “El ‘no’ categórico de los alteños y la Guerra del Gas de octubre de 2003”, *La Razon*, March 25, 2012.

In the face of political uncertainty and a confirmed political party meltdown, 54% of Bolivians elected coca leader and main opposition man inside the legislative body, Evo Morales, on December 2005⁶³. Morales assumed the presidency of Bolivia with high expectations of transforming the country and having a more just and representative state. The coca leader assumed a legacy that was not only what the coca movement aimed for, but what social movements from El Alto, among other organizations, had sought during the 2002-2005 movements: a new Constituent Assembly. In his first presidential speech Morales addressed the urgent need to approve a law regarding a constitutional assembly where popular will could be reflected.

The centripetal force of the MAS party became visible during the constituents election. One of the key decisions that the government made was to run as a political party in the election of the constituents on 2006. Many members of the MAS and other social organizations wanted to elect constituents by social organizations to prevent political parties from taking control of the process. This project would also help establish a bottom-up dynamic in the process of writing the constitution. The Constituents were 255 in total: 84% has less than 40 years old, a 56% considered themselves from a “pueblo originario”, 59% knew an indigenous language.

What started as a political demand to stop gas from being sold through Chile had transformed into the “biggest” political project that the MAS was going to lead: the Constitutional Assembly. This transformation corresponds to a bottom up political initiative that certainly had gained power. The constitution established by the MAS

⁶³ Salvador Romero Ballivian interprets this voting support to both electors that supported Evo Morales political project and to some other electors that supported Morales because they were unsatisfied with the rest established political parties. See Romero Ballivian Salvador, *El tablero reordenado*, (Corte Nacional Electoral: 2007), 54 - 63.

government, though with some controversy⁶⁴, was approved electorally with 60% of the Bolivian voting population on 2009. It is worth pointing out that even though the Bolivian Constitution is closely linked to the Evo Morales government and the MAS political party, the text was the result of mainly indigenous movements that demanded wider inclusion in the state through a Constitutional Assembly before Evo Morales was elected.

The idea of a “reconstruction” of the state was the main claim that social movements aimed for, however later on, the text was better known as the MAS Constitution because of the party’s protagonist participation in the Constituent Assembly. The constitutional text was rewritten mainly because of the political urgency to legitimate the state and its institutions. Because of the acute political crisis that Bolivia went through before 2005, it was indispensable to have either a new constitution or a more radical revolution was inevitable. One of the challenges that the government faced was to recover legitimacy of the state institutions and to accomplish its objective many transformations were to take place.

MORALES FIRST PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH INSIDE PARLIAMENT

Evo Morales Morales attended on January 21 2006 to an indigenous spiritual ceremony in Tiwanacu, a famous pre-Columbian archeological site outside La Paz. Thousands of people gathered from different communities from across the country, indigenous leaders of the Americas, and many national and international media were also present.

⁶⁴ “Aprobado el Nuevo proyecto de constitucion de Bolivia”, *El Pais Internacional*, December 9, 2007, http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2007/12/09/actualidad/1197154802_850215.html

On January 22 2006 Evo Morales begins his first presidential speech inside Parliament by asking for a minute of silence to remember Manco Inca, Tupaj Katari, Tupac Amaru, Bartolina Sisa, Zarate Willca, Atihuaiqui Tumpa, Andres Ibanez, Che Guevara, Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz, and Luis Espinal, “ to many brothers that have fallen, coca growers in Cochabamba, for the fallen brothers in the defense for dignity of the people of El Alto, to the miners, to the millions of human beings that have fallen in all America”, “I ask for a minute of silence”⁶⁵. The whole legislative space, full of international presidents and national political figures started quieting down until a powerful silence was finally reached. Then, Morales exclaimed “*Gloria a los martires por la liberación!*” Glory to the martyrs of liberation! The silence opened up a speech that would certainly make people inside the room feel as if they were facing a historical moment for the country. Few minutes before, with tears in his eyes, the new elected president was placed with the presidential sash by his vice-president Garcia Linera. Many labor unions, indigenous organizations, and social organizations awaited the official presidential speech outside the Parliament on the historic Plaza Murillo.

,Evo Morales speech inside Parliament and the symbolic system⁶⁶ that would characterize the principal speeches that the MAS party would do from then on became visible for the first time. Through the figure of Evo Morales the MAS party represented the rupture with the old political system. Counter hegemony was the aim of the new government in response to the neoliberal model from the nineties.

⁶⁵ Evo Morales part of the speech in Spanish “...a muchos de mis hermanos caídos, cocaleros de la zona del trópico de Cochabamba, por los hermanos caídos en la defensa de la dignidad del pueblo altoño, de los mineros, de miles, de millones de seres humanos que han caído en toda América y por ellos presidente pido un minuto de silencio.” See the entire Spanish speech in Appendix.

⁶⁶ Bourdieu Pierre, “Symbolic Power”, *Critique of Anthropology*, (1979), 4: 77.

In order to both achieve a real change, and to gain political legitimacy it was necessary to construct a discursive field on which the government could govern. Bourdieu states “The power of words and commands, the power of words to give orders and bring order, lies in belief in the legitimacy of the words and of the person who utters them, a belief which words themselves cannot produce”⁶⁷. Evo Morales and the speeches he produced have a major impact on citizens and is a source to gain legitimacy from the “people”. Speeches are with no doubt a major element of political action of the MAS party.

The presidential speech that Morales gave on January 22nd 2006 lasted for two hours that translates into approximately 15 pages singled space. This speech was a powerful entrance inside the Legislative where Morales positioned himself as a “common man” wearing an elegant yet casual suit with Andean designs woven, as a man that sheds a few tears humbly as medals were placed over his neck, and as a man that may not speak “perfect” Spanish but decided on the nationalization of hydrocarbons in Bolivia. This first speech is especially important as it addresses the main issues that were going to be the MAS’s agenda for the next two presidential terms. In this speech the nationalization, the decolonization and the Constitutional Assembly were announced.

Several elements ensemble the first presidential speech that president Morales gives. In order to analyze the creation of a common plurinational⁶⁸ identity for the new state in Bolivia, we will analyze different elements: non recognized heroes until then through colonial times, republican times and a neoliberal era; the 500 years of indigenous

⁶⁷ Ibid.89.

⁶⁸ The plurinational aspect is the main characteristic inside the Bolivian constitution of 2009. The name “Republic of Bolivia” was changed to “Plurinational State of Bolivia” in order to constitutionalizes difference and legitimized it as well. This thesis will dig deeper on the plurinational aspect later on the thesis.

subordination and the deep colonization which raises a crucial political ideology that is decolonization.

The opening speech that Morales gave invoked strong historical figures from the left as well as indigenous leaders. In this sense, Evo transformed what could have been the victory of his party and a contemporary struggle to a struggle that goes beyond its time. When naming several indigenous and left leaders during his speech, Morales became several selves at different times by accomplishing what many of the martyrs cited were not able accomplish. He based this element of impersonating several selves and struggles to the famous leader Tupac Katari that once stated, “I will return and I will be millions”⁶⁹. Katari’s famous phrase “I will return and be millions” empowered Morales almost on a messianic manner. Past political leaders and struggles were brought to life in the speech as a continuation of a historical narrative of indigenous oppression that finally acquired the necessary power to address indigenous claims. The historical legacy evoked by president Morales would be fundamental in building a powerful symbolic system that refers to an unquestionable historical reality of indigenous oppression.

Many indigenous leaders from pre-colonial times, colonial periods, and socialist or left leaders of the 20th Century were invoked during the speech. I will refer shortly to some of the main figures in order to find out what historical times were present and which ones were absent in the process of recovering or telling a new history. Manco Inca, one of the first figures to be mentioned during the speech, was an Inca during the first half of the 16th century who was murdered by the Spanish due to a siege in Lima. His son, Tupac Amaru, the last indigenous monarch was also murdered later on. Bartolina Sisa, an Aymara woman who commanded the La Paz siege in the 18th century alongside

⁶⁹ Translation from the Spanish phrase that Tupac Katari pronounced “Volvere y sere millones”.

her husband Tupac Katari was brutally murdered in Plaza Murillo, the same plaza where the legislative assembly still is situated and where Evo Morales was making his first presidential speech. Zarate Willca who was an Aymara leader during the federal war aimed at reconstructing the first Indian Republic of Bolivia and was later on executed for being a threat to the nation on 1905. Atihuaiqui Tumpa, an indigenous leader from the lowlands of Bolivia, Che Guevara represented the socialist foundation of the MAS party, Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz, a national political leader, mostly known as the man who demanded the nationalization and full sovereignty of the natural resources. Luis Espinal, who has not been mentioned in many of Morales' speeches, was a Jesuit that fought against the dictatorship of right wing governments and that was murdered during the Meza's regime. Bolivar is also cited later on the speech regarding his objective of constructing a wider homeland.

All the figures named inside the Morales speech portray the complexity of the historical times that the political elements that the MAS party gathers. Manco Inca of the sixteenth century is the oldest historical reference that the president goes back to. Recent historical moments go back to the social mobilizations of El Alto in 2003 and to the early 1990's where indigenous people from the lowlands walked to La Paz to demand their rights. Most of the leaders mentioned by president Morales in his opening speech come from the Andean area with the exception of Che Guevara and mestizo leaders such as Quiroga Santa Cruz and Luis Espinal. The strong relevance of Andean politics throughout the history of Bolivia is visible in the speech and it captures a strong central government that has been a characteristic of the Bolivian state since its independence. The main indigenous leaders mentioned also correspond to the majority of the indigenous people in Bolivia, which are Quechuas and Aymaras. The only female leader mentioned

is Bartolina Sisa. It is surprising that Bolivar was mentioned given that independence in Latin America has been strongly linked to the efforts of mestizo elites. However, independence is still a major historical rupture that ended up with the creation of national identities, not even under strong left and indigenous political governments are the national states foundations being questioned or erased. On the other hand, what has been silenced inside the Morales speech is the national revolution of 1952 that was led by the MNR. There are many factors that come to play in this silencing. First, the MNR was the same political party that Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada was from. It is clear that the MNR from the revolution was not the same party after 1985 and the neoliberal stages it led in Bolivia. The ideological distance from the MNR of 1952 and the MNR of Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada were far from being near. During this first speech it would have been a mistake to recover a melancholy or even empathy for the same political party that became the enemy of many social movements on 2003. Secondly, the national revolution of 1952 had based its political ideology on the creation of mestizaje. Mestizaje had obscured ethnic differences and had tried to adopt a class-based identity instead of a racial or cultural one. The MAS movement that has a strong ethnic cleavage and that seeks to claim identity politics on a national level would not want to recover such a revolution.

The 500 years of racial domination is one of the most repeated and transcendent phrases that Morales gives in his speeches. The 500 years of impositions and abuses that indigenous people endured and that the president invoked tried to remind the people of the continuity of discrimination and exclusion since the colonial rule up to the neoliberal era of the 20th century. The discourse deals with a constant reminder of the great injustices that indigenous people faced in different historical times but in similar ways. Morales

stated “Forty to fifty years ago our forefathers did not have the right to walk on sidewalks. This is our story, our life experience”⁷⁰. This constant reminder of racial injustice to indigenous peoples is the most powerful factor in achieving a unified national identity. This violent shared experience of discrimination makes Morales part of the people, and not part of the mestizo-white minority that held on to state power. While a shared experience of discrimination strengthens the unity of indigenous people, for those who did not it was a common element of the history of the country. On one hand, a history of discrimination helped unify and indigenous identity in Bolivia. On the other hand, this powerful unity and cohesion that gathered more than 36 different indigenous communities brought about the visibility of discriminations within a discrimination which is the case of indigenous woman or indigenous communities that are minorities politically and economically.

The privatization of natural resources such as water, gas and other were the main reasons why social movements started out on the 2000. Therefore, a strong state was envisioned in order to successfully achieve the nationalization process that was about to occur. After about 15 years of privatization of most gas, water, and mining companies the state was the primary figure to replace these administrations. The return to a statist approach by the MAS government not only had to do with the nationalization and the idea of redistributing more equally the natural resources available in the country but also with the socialist element that characterized the MAS movement. Even from the early beginnings of the MAS government, there was an emphasis on state-led development that involved redistribution to reduce poverty. In his first presidential discourse, president Morales refers to the need to improve the roads and highways to connect to international

⁷⁰ The full speech in Spanish is found in the Appendix.

markets. He later pushed for a sovereign economy and requests the Brazilian, Venezuelan, and Argentinian presidents to not exclude Bolivia from regional energy policies. Later he states that he is convinced that only by increasing production Bolivia can overcome poverty, that it is important to do business, but healthy business for Bolivia. For president Morales, it was not only necessary to make business and export natural resources, but also crucial to promote an industrialization process. He stated, that it was not possible (admissible) for Bolivia to have never accomplished industrialization, and that industrialization can overcome poverty.

Colonization in this speech refers to the racial and ethnic discrimination that characterized a divided society in Bolivia, the Bolivia of the powerful mestizos and white people on the one hand, and the Bolivia of the Indians and oppressed on the other. In this discourse, decolonization refers to the end of racial discrimination of indigenous people. It supposes that decolonization through indigenous principles would overcome the colonial state that Morales refers to. The implementation of indigenous practices in the state would be the tool to destroy colonial hierarchies. The counter hegemony would be built from this starting point: indigenous principles and a wisdom that create a more equal, non-discriminatory, and just system in harmony with the Earth. Later on, president Morales indicated that the reservoir of knowledge to accomplish these goals lies in social organizations, the *consejos de amautas*, the unions, and the *capitanias*. He states, “It is about taking [knowledge] from these organizations to implement policies and it is not about imposing politics that serve power groups in Bolivia or abroad”. “The *ama sua*, *ama llulla*, *ama quella*”, do not steal, do not lie, do not be lazy “are the laws that will be our law”, Morales emphasises the indigenous principles that should be the moral and

ethical base for his government. Corruption would be eradicated and his government will not steal from the people, on the contrary, he claims, honesty would be pursued.

Decolonization was also evident in Morales' first speech as president of Bolivia. To address decolonization he begins by asking, "Why do we speak about changing that colonial state? We have to end with the colonial state." "Imagine: after 180 years of a democratic republican life we barely got here, we can be inside the Parliament, we can be in the presidency, inside the municipalities. Before, we had no right". He then exclaims: "that was the colonial state and the colonial state is still present. It can not be possible that there is not a general Condori in the national army, a general Villca, a general Mamani, a general Ayma. There are none yet, the colonial state is here!". The last names Condori, Villca and Mamani are typically indigenous and Morales mentions these particular last names to emphasize ethnic discrimination inside state institutions such as the armed forces in Bolivia.

Hence, MAS's political project included indigenous claims, national sovereignty of natural resources, social policies, and a democratic inclusionary state compromised to fight inequality and racism.

ESTABLISHING LEGITIMACY THE PREAMBLE OF THE 2009 CONSTITUTION: FROM THE REPUBLIC OF BOLIVIA TO THE PLURINATIONAL STATE OF BOLIVIA

The preamble of the constitution is the text that will be analyzed to understand how history and a political agenda are revealed. The main political projects that the government and the constitution aim at achieving are visible in the first page of the 2009 constitution. However, in order to have a better understanding of the preamble of the constitution, which is literally the introduction, it is important to understand the basic principles and circumstances on which this constitution was written.

The Constituent Assembly was established in Sucre, capital of Bolivia, on August 2006 where 164 constituents out of a total of 255 constituents finally approved the Constitutional text on December tenth 2007. Several tensions arose during the making of the text between the MAS party and the opposition. The main two problematic issues dealt with regional autonomies and the full capital that Sucre demanded. In order to approve the text in a highly conflictive climate, the MAS party approved the constitution without the opposition⁷¹. On January 2009, the final text was approved on a national referendum. The constitution is known for being extensive as it has 411 articles and five sections. The text got the attention of several scholars inside and outside Bolivia because of the “new” elements it included; it was often analyzed on a larger wave of new constitutionalism in Latin America, such as in the cases of Venezuela and Ecuador.

The main “new” constitutional characteristics of the text are the liberal and republican trends that are combined with communitarian and indigenous principles throughout the new plurinational constitution⁷². Gray states that there are many constitutional elements that have direct implications for indigenous communities and the enhancement of political rights for historically excluded groups while others depend on state institutional capacity. Among the direct implications and applications of the “plurinationality” are the indigenous autonomies and an Indigenous Law based on customs and traditions⁷³. No less important, are the economic and social inequalities that the state aims at reducing. However, the achievement of these reforms seems to depend on the state capacities and further political negotiations in the medium to long run.

⁷¹ Some leaders from the opposition supported the MAS text and collaborated. This is the case of Carlos Bohrt from PODEMOS (Poder Democrático Social).

⁷² Gray George, “Nuevas constituciones andinas, nuevas tensiones estatales”, Not published, 1.

⁷³ Ibid. 25.

Another element that makes this constitution distinct from previous ones is that the unity of the nations is based on the difference and not evenness of the population. The preamble of the new constitution begins by acknowledging the diverse geographical areas of the highland plateau, the lowlands, the amazon, the valleys, and the chaco regions. And, it follows to assert the presence of mother earth and how different faces and a diversity of beings and cultures inhabited it across the territory. The constitution was made with high expectations to be inclusive of all the peoples in Bolivia. The constituent assembly as Salvador Schavelzon shows was an attempt from the MAS to consolidate the most important piece of the constitutional text: the plurinational aspect⁷⁴. This plurinationality meant acknowledging many realities that were before invisibilized by a homogenous nationality. However, “*El nacimiento del Estado plurinacional de Bolivia*”, shows the difficulties of naming and including as many groups as possible because most constituents had the duty with its community to verbalize their inclusion in the text. This inclusion was aimed to go beyond a multicultural recognition of the 36 indigenous communities, but as to institutionalize political, social and cultural practices of the communities.

It is worth keeping in mind that this was a very special political and historical time that opened up in front of everyone, where a whole constitution had to be redesigned. Its main goal was to be plurinational, so of course all the communities started to assembly with their respective constituent in order to make their demands be heard. The opportunity to be part of a constituent assembly was unique. However, the most common claim was to make sure a community was not left out. This meant, that their language, traditions, economical structure, social structure, etc., was aimed to be included

⁷⁴ Schavelzon Salvador, *El nacimiento del Estado Plurinacional de Bolivia*, (Plural: 2012), 11.

explicitly in the constitutional text. The extent to which the voices of the communities were heard through its constituents and on the final text, may be up for further question, however the constituents would try to make sure that their community was not excluded. For example, when the national symbols were chosen, the already popularized khantuta flower was again chosen as a plurinational symbol. However, later on, a constituent from the east side of Bolivia claimed that the patuju flower should be included as well because the khantuta only grows in the west of the country and the plurinationality had to be respected. This sort of claim was found recurrently throughout several negotiations of the Assembly⁷⁵.

The diversity of actors and demands that the constitutional assembly had, only revealed the diversity of the political forces that the MAS gathered. In this sense, the MAS project cannot be understood only with the indigenous components and without a national, peasant, and popular statist left ones. At the same time that indigenous elements were to be included, several statist left components were also important. It was all part of a diversity that the text aimed at pointing out. However, only what appeared at first as tenuous tensions during the making of the constitutional text between class-ethnicity-gender-region later on originated profound contradictions and contrasts for the process and the government. For example an all “indigenous” politics that demanded certain regions to be autonomous clashed with a statist developmentalist project that was planned to improve commerce.

Another important statement found in the preamble addresses the historical watershed of the colonial encounter, which is also a very recurrent historical reference in

⁷⁵ During the months of June and July 2007 I witnessed some sessions inside the Constitutional Assembly, particularly inside the “vision de pais” or country vision commission.

the political discourses of the State, led by the MAS party. The colonial encounter is the very first moment that racism was experienced, the statement claims: “...we never understood racism until we suffered it, from unfortunate times of the colony.” Therefore, by stating that racism started with colonization, the proclamation proposes a political standpoint on which decolonization would imply a non-racist ideal. Later on the preamble, the text iterates on the notion of decolonization as it states, “ We leave in the past the colonial, republican, and neoliberal state.”

The *unfortunate times of colony*, is an essential moment to understand the political project of the MAS because colonization is sought to disrupt a non-racist society, a non-hierarchical system, and overall a more equal and fair society. Ideologically, this means that the ideal form of living is conceived to be in the past but aimed in the future. This notion of conceiving the past as an ideal political project is new because it looks back in order to achieve the ideal political and societal project ahead. The Aymara⁷⁶ notion of time seems to be fruitful to understand the complexities of decolonization as a political project. Aymaras, unlike many cultures in the world, have a particular notion of time where future is behind and the past is ahead. Professors Eve Sweetser and Rafael Nunez have discussed more broadly on the topic, however this notion of temporality seems to be inherent to decolonization. Under an Aymara conception of time it is necessary to go behind to look for a better future. This comprehension of time may be really hard to understand for many that do not share the same sense of time and temporalities, and might even consider it a backward proposition.

⁷⁶ Second most dense indigenous community from the Andes in Bolivia. The first majoritarian indigenous population is the Quechuas.

Predominant notions of evolution and temporality make decolonization a unique yet difficult process to envision.

Certainly, the preamble, the constitution and state institutions emphasizes on decolonization. So let us dig deeper into the decolonization process, while trying not to repeat what some authors have already worked on. A historical importance inside the decolonization project finds a central focus while it understands the past in a different way. Whether the past is being recaptured accurately or not has nothing to do with how a present project of a future will turn out with decolonization. As a matter of fact, the past is important in decolonization, not as how “real” it is, but as how it is constructed and destructed to build a future. Of course, the past will tend to be idealized in decolonization since the past represents that ideal place and time. Like, nationalisms of mestizaje, decolonization seeks to achieve an ideal project by showing some histories over others in order to emphasize a unity of the people in history. If for decolonization theories, the colonial encounter would interrupt an “ideal” state, in mestizaje, the colonial encounter would represent the union of Spanish and Indians as a fortuitous moment where the mestizo was conceived. Under this light, it would seem that decolonization and mestizaje are in opposing poles instead, they share in many senses some elements, as we will see later on.

The constitution is based on a plural recognition of difference that actively involves the diversity of peoples in state institutions towards achieving social, economical, political and cultural equality. At the same time, the constitution also emphasizes a unified history that is meant to be the cohesive force of a plurality. History is, as in most nation building, an essential element to achieve a sense of belonging and unity. Throughout the preamble there is a direct mention to different histories, but at the

same time to a history of colonization that is a common to all the peoples in Bolivia. In this sense, the text mentions the struggles made by the diverse actors from colonial periods towards recent events happened in early 2000's. The actors correspond to a diversity of social and ethnic actors from indigenous leaders in colonial times, or to independence heroes that are usually identified popularly as non-indigenous or mestizos. It also acknowledges the struggles of labor unions that although many were and still are composed by indigenous people, their identification leans towards social class and not ethnicity.

Another element that also shows the plural aspect of the constitution is the aim of *buen vivir* combined with a *desarrollo integral*. This also shows the tension between an ethnic with a statist approach. Although, these two elements could be in harmony, there have been some cases where they represent unresolved tensions. Most of these tensions deal directly with the institutionalization of indigenous practices and their cosmovision with the state apparatus. On the one hand, the institutionalization of many indigenous practices gain the necessary resources and power to change the state based on their cosmovision. While at the same time, indigenous practices are transformed because of all the procedural institutionalization that the state supposes. Certain indigenous principles of solidarity are successful in small to medium communities because there is a particular control of the community given there is a clear meaning and social roles that support the principles to be achieved. When introducing indigenous principles into the state apparatus, there are many contextual elements that get lost. Therefore, the bureaucratic and institutional processes redefine those indigenous principles. The transformations from oral to written laws have a defining role in how the laws are going to be applied and achieved. The context is determinant since indigenous principles are fulfilled not only as

mere principles but also as whole systems that imply other kind of processes that do not involve a state dynamic. The laws correspond to a way of living, of resolving conflicts that goes beyond the writing of the norm.

A NEW LEGITIMACY: SYMBOLS AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS OF THE PLURINATIONAL STATE

It is through a new reading of a plurinational history of Bolivia that new belongings are being performed and formed inside the legislative assembly. Memory is a crucial factor for identity formation and nation building. Politics of identity were absolutely determinant for the election of president Evo Morales in Bolivia on 2005 and 2009. Through its discourse, the MAS political party had emphasized a strong indigenous and lower class identity. This did not mean, however, that the project excluded groups that did not belong to an ethnic group or a particular social class. It rather meant that the MAS movement successfully constructed a (pluri) national project that beyond its ethnic and class cleavages, created an alternative social, economic, and cultural agenda. The political project mainly claimed an indigenous turn as an alternative to neoliberal policies. In this sense, decolonization was the main political project that the movement proposed.

The cohesive force for identity politics in the MAS movement was the assimilation of a shared past. Cruz states, "Collective memory, by its very nature, compels actors to define themselves intersubjectively". Shaped by past struggles and shared historical accidents, collective memory is both a common discriminating experience and a "factual" recollection - a seemingly veridical narrative- of the groups past as "it really was". Thus whether in war or in peace, a collectivity expresses and defends its identity by declaring, "we are as we are because the world has made us this

way; and because we are who we are, we can change our world only so much without changing ourselves"⁷⁷. The recollection of the past may be subjective, even more so when it deals with a collective memory. Beyond the veracity of historical events that are brought to life through identity construction, what is more important is how they become real on a political level. The veracity of a collective memory is, at least throughout this work, as real as the actors involved perform that identity on their political doing. The active participation of the people living an identity and constructing it make an identity reducible to a rhetorical manifesto, Cruz states.

Booth suggests that identity statements appear as propositions of current values and institutions and that often seek to establish the sameness, the continuity, of a person or community across time and in the face of apparent change⁷⁸. While identity statements may correspond to moral and temporal dimensions, they also ground ideas of attribution and responsibility, for past and future deeds. For the MAS movement, identity politics is based on a postponed demand, claimed by social movements, to make amends for the indigenous communities that had been relegated and discriminated from the political, economical and social spheres of the state. Ethnicity is a main crossing point for discriminations in Bolivia, and at the same time more than 50% of Bolivians perceive themselves as related to an indigenous community; this is why ethnicity becomes central in identity politics. The state led by the Morales government, uses in its discourse strong elements that correspond to a responsibility for past and future deeds, or to amend past discriminations in order to create a different future. Whether the government, is or is not

⁷⁷ Cruz Consuelo, "Identity and Persuasion: How Nations Remember Their Pasts and Make Their Futures", *World Politics*, Volume 52, Number 3 (2000), 276.

⁷⁸ Booth James, "Communities of Memory: On Identity, Memory, and Debt", *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 93, No.2 (1999) 249-263.

successful in its project, still remains to be debated. All of these are elements of the representations of a community that is not fixed but is constructed based on demands, political circumstances and political purposes.

Primordialist or essentialist notions of identity are not useful when analyzing identities that are in constant change and reconfiguration, specially taking into consideration the constant waves of rural migration to the cities throughout Bolivia's history. Indigenous identities, like many identities, are constructed in opposition to other identities. In Bolivia, a unified indigenous identity was a fundamental base for an indigenous empowerment that led to power inside the state. This does not mean however, that there are only indigenous people in the MAS party, or that there is no difference among the indigenous people that form the political party. But it rather means, that indigeneity is being redefined inside the state, that indigeneity is taking new forms.

Both the inaugural speech and the preamble have one common characteristic that is that the historical references elevate both discourses to a wider temporality. A history of subordination and the 500 years of subjugation certainly bring the speech to another dimension that has proven to be successful between the masses. However, its not only the speeches that have a powerful and successful message but the Morales character makes the discourse believable and important.

Morales inaugural speech inside Parliament ends by thanking his place of birth Orinoca- Oruro and the Tropic Federation in Cochabamba⁷⁹. He states, "These lands have taught me everything about life, surely, now Bolivia will teach me to lead well." "I will fulfill my commitment, as Sub Comandante Marcos says, I will lead by obeying the

⁷⁹ Evo Morales was leader of the Federacion del Tropico de Cochabamba for many years.

people in Bolivia”⁸⁰. The people inside and outside Parliament started clapping and cheering for the new elected president.

The preamble of the constitution ends by stating:

“We, women and men, through the Constitutional Assembly and the originary power from the people, manifest our engagement with the unity and integrity of the country.

Complying the peoples mandate, with the strength of our Pachamama and thank God, we refund Bolivia.

Honor and glory to the martyrs of constitutional and liberating feats that have made this new history possible⁸¹”.

A new history was about to take place; most of the population had high expectations of the “proceso de cambio”. Could Morales be as successful decolonizing the state as he was in his speeches and in creating new symbolic practices inside the state?

⁸⁰ “Cumpliré con mi compromiso, como dice el Sub comandante Marcos, mandar obedeciendo al pueblo, mandaré Bolivia obedeciendo al pueblo boliviano.”

⁸¹ The ending of the preamble of the constitution in Spanish: “Nosotros, mujeres y hombres, a través de la Asamblea Constituyente y con el poder originario del pueblo, manifestamos nuestro compromiso con la unidad e integridad del país.

Cumpliendo el mandato de nuestros pueblos, con la fortaleza de nuestra Pachamama y gracias a Dios, refundamos Bolivia.

Honor y gloria a los mártires de la gesta constituyente y liberadora, que han hecho posible esta nueva historia.”

Chapter 2

I could see men wearing colorful red ponchos entering the room. Women's braids came out of bowler looking hats and bright festive *mantas*⁸² would complement the colorful garment. As the women and men started to greet they held small conversations about food, family and political news. Other people with blue jeans and sober colored shirts finished their hot drinks before sitting down. A man wearing a blue textile hat with the MAS⁸³ name on it stood out the most because of the particular shape and vibrant color of the hat. As people started to seat and greet each other, some of them pulled out green plastic bags full of coca leaves onto the tables. They passed the plastic bags around until everyone who wanted to chew the leaf⁸⁴ had some. Close to sixty men and women were gathered. They were all about to start what appeared to be an important event. Later on, a strong yet pleasant smell of cumin and yellow hot peppers infused the air. Both ingredients covered a freshly cooked chicken with a side of chuño⁸⁵ while some green and yellow peas adorned the traditional Sajta de Pollo. The plates passed around through the air until they would reach its owner. Everyone stopped working for a while when lunchtime arrived. It was only when I zoomed out of what was happening, that I realized that was inside the Legislative Assembly in Bolivia.

Everyone was starting to have lunch inside the senate. In 2006, the chefs and menu inside the state institutions were changed under the Morales government. A whole page inside the local newspaper was dedicated to the typical Bolivian plates that were

⁸² Indigenous women in Bolivia usually wear sequin chawls for special occasions.

⁸³ Movimiento al Socialismo is a political party led by indigenous leader Evo Morales that has been president of Bolivia since 2005.

⁸⁴ The coca leaf is considered sacred because it has powerful effects on a person when you chew it. It would take the hunger away; it would take the sleep away and give you energy for a day of work.

⁸⁵ Chuños or dehydrated potatoes have a black purplish color and are often used in Andean cuisine.

now introduced in the state menus replacing international meals. The symbolic values of institutional practices were changed with few precedents. However, there were still high expectatives to intensify the so longed *change process*.

All the people gathered faced two big paintings. One of Simon Bolivar and Jose Antonio de Sucre, independence heroes of South American countries, the other had the representations of indigenous leaders Tupak Katari and Bartolina Sisa. This one was placed between two Greek looking pillars. In one corner of the room, the red, yellow and green flag of Bolivia was located. And on the other side of the room, I could see a bright squared rainbow flag, known as the *whipala*⁸⁶. The *whipala* has been quite popularized on the media, especially during the last decades, as it was always present on indigenous social movements. This flag is a representation of indigenous peoples in Bolivia.

When I glanced upward I was surprised to immediately see a sixteen chapel style painting on the roof of the big building. I felt this scenario was strangely surreal. Here I was, at a fancy Corinthian building decorated with Greek pillars when all of the sudden an indigenous *jilakata*⁸⁷ walked into the stately room and sat on a huge fancy chair. The contrasting symbols were the first thing that caught my attention. Roman and Greek architecture were common in spaces like this. In Bolivia, most of the important State institutions were built mimicking European architecture. This also corresponds to a long tradition of how national politics were performed, always looking outside rather than inside. Only by looking at these structures, one can begin to understand at Bolivia's

⁸⁶ The whipala has seven colors. The variety of the colors represents the various indigenous nations in Bolivia.

⁸⁷ Jilakata is an Aymara word used to refer to the indigenous authorities of the highlands of Bolivia. These authorities usually carry *chicotes* across their backs to show their authority to punish and discipline.

political history. No wonder the state has been such a stranger in Bolivian society for so long, spaces were not even constructed in accordance to the reality of the country.



Illustration 1: The Plurinational Legislative Assembly, 2012 (Photograph by Luciana Molina)

NEW SYMBOLS AND CONSTRUCTIONS FROM THE PAST

The representations of Bartolina Sisa and Tupak Katari are relatively new in the national history of Bolivia. Both characters were important indigenous leaders that led significant revolts against the Spaniards during the XVII century. However, they were rarely represented in national history. These two figures have often been used in the MAS political discourses as important political referents of indigenous claims that started in the early 2000's. It is interesting to see how indigenous identity is reconstructed from the representation of these two figures that are now placed inside the legislature next to Bolivar and Sucre. These indigenous representations, Sisa and Katari, are being reconstructed mostly from collective memory and recent historical research. Ginzburg suggests, that we cannot fully recover knowledge on the past through reason or evidence⁸⁸. He argues that no primary source stands as an open window to past reality, because even primary sources have human interpretations. Hence, interpretations are not an absolute truth but instead accounts or perspectives. He calls out for a hermeneutical approach, which deciphers the construction of reality. Inside the Plurinational State of Bolivia, it seems it is less important to pay attention to an objective and/or true history and more important to analyze how the past and present are being represented and shaped in order to create a plurinational future.

The Sisa-Katari painting of what they wear, what they hold in their hands, and how their faces look are reconstructions of what contemporary people think these historical figures looked like, wore and performed politically. Multiple historical times

⁸⁸ Carlo Ginzburg and Joan Scott, *Articles and Replies in Questions of Evidence*, (University of Chicago Press: 1994).

encounter these paintings. A multiplicity of temporalities is not unique to the Bolivian process, Reinhart Koselleck has analyzed, also through a painting, how different temporalities can be represented into a painting⁸⁹. I found Koselleck very enlighten since it looks at a multiplicity of times and conceptions of pasts. Through the painting of Tupak Katari and Bartolina Sisa, three temporalities are visible. The first temporality goes back to colonial periods. Sisa and Katari held important rebellions against Spanish abuse on 1781. The second temporality corresponds to present interpretation of the past. Indigenous people view their history as collectively oppressed by Spanish in colonial times and by the upper class after independence. Finally, a future temporality is also present on the paintings. That is because the plurinational state is still in the making. Consequently, the representation aims to also represent what the political actors today expect and desire of plurinationality.



Illustration 2: Representation of Tupak Katari and Bartolina Sisa made by Gaston Ugalde.

⁸⁹ Koselleck Reinhart, *Selections from Futures Past*, (Columbia University Press :2004).

In Bolivia, Tupak Katari and Bartolina Sisa validate a certain indigenous identity that will be discussed later on. Why have Katari and Sisa figures been rediscovered and not other indigenous figures? Although, one cannot be completely certain of the reasons why some representations have been recovered over others, there are still many interpretations of the meaning that these characters have today. For example, these two leaders were not common men or/women; they were outspoken, rebellious and highly political. Mainly, they personify indigenous power. Power to plan sophisticated political strategies, power to mobilize masses and the power to rebel.

The reconstruction process begins with evidence that validates an identity. The reconstruction of an indigenous identity and history is based fundamentally on the notion of living ruins. Ruins correspond to the history of imperial formations in Latin America. These represent on the one hand, the existence and evidence of a long-standing subordination of indigenous people, while on the other the agency and power they embrace. The notion of living ruins is taken from Ann Stoler's⁹⁰ analysis on ruins and ruination. However, it is different since living ruins acknowledge the permanent presence of memory and past that are constructed over ruins but that are also constructed day to day. Inside the legislative, there are also ruins from a different sort. The legislative building, which is a central stage for politics in Bolivia, is also part of the ruins of a Bolivian history. These ruins represent the different political projects that have been discussed inside the assembly before 2005.

⁹⁰ Stoler Ann, "Imperial Debris: Reflections on Ruins and Ruination", *Cultural Anthropology* 23(2), (2008).

REDEFINING IDENTITIES INSIDE A CONTESTED SPACE

The legislative building was constructed as a result of the Federal Civil War in Bolivia. This federal war was the confrontation of a new economic elite against the one already established. In this battle, liberals represented the new economic power of La Paz and federalist represented the established elite in capital Sucre. The liberals of La Paz won the battle and consequently moved the Legislative and the Executive powers from Sucre to La Paz. The decisive factors that led to the victory of the liberals were the alliance of the elite with indigenous people. Indigenous people were fundamental because it made the liberal army massive. However, what started as an alliance between the La Paz elite and the indigenous people led to several confrontations and rebellions within the alliance⁹¹. The rebellions were made against the elites in order to establish the first denominated indigenous president of Bolivia, Zárate Willka. However, this did not last for long. Willka was charged for several accusations of “threat” to the nation and was later executed. It is astounding, looking back, how the Legislative Assembly in Bolivia was born in a highly conflictive climate full with contradictions. In this case, the Legislative was built between comings and goings of the alliances and conflicts that indigenous people and elites had. The legislature was also born as a consequence of regional conflicts that were led by elites, but that had repercussions for indigenous communities. Indigenous people had a major role in national politics, although from an outsider position. The indigenous populations historically represented more than half of the national population and it was impossible even for the elites to leave them out

⁹¹ Condarco, Morales Ramiro. *Zárate, El Temible Willka; Historia De La Rebelión Indígena De 1899*, (La Paz: n.p., 1965).

completely from the nation building. The alliances were then ambivalent for both groups. For the elites, alliances meant depending on indigenous people in order to win political battles. However, the elites were also fearful of the power the indigenous population had to mobilize politically. They were aware that if they did not pact with indigenous communities their “national project” would become extremely vulnerable. For the indigenous communities, the alliances with elites meant achieving certain political interest as of those that dealt with their lands. However, the alliances often meant for indigenous communities unequal terms of agreement. Indigenous people were not inside the state institutions but had enormous power to dismantle or support political elites. Alliances between indigenous people and elites were, and still are, very important for political doing in Bolivia. The difference today, is that indigenous people are actively inside the state and no longer outside the “national” political projects.

According to Stoler, imperial formations are defined by racialized formations and it is an ongoing quality of process of decimation, displacement, and reclamation⁹². In this sense imperial formations are processes of becoming and are never completed. In Bolivia, the construction of the state was always incomplete. Today, ruins can be found inside the Legislative Assembly. Beyond the presence of ruins of past systems, ruins of past state projects remain. Today, older political projects are far from being ruined, they coexist within the state institution. Even though Bolivia has approved a new constitution, there are strong remains of a hierarchical way of doing politics. The appropriations of a centralized, conditional tutelage, and delayed autonomy have not yet disappeared regardless of the several attempts to construct a more participatory and pluralist state.

⁹² Stoler Ann, “Imperial Debris: Reflections on Ruins and Ruination”, *Cultural Anthropology* 23(2), (2008).

A fundamental base for identity politics and nation building, in the Bolivian case plurinational building is history. History is being recovered and reinterpreted in order to create a new state, a new country, and new histories and identities. The place of history in this political process cannot pass unnoticed. Many histories that have been silenced in Bolivia, especially those related to indigenous identity, sought to be outspoken. There is an effort to recover and reinterpret a plurinational history. Throughout the plurinational project, significant attention has been given to an indigenous history. However, the acknowledgement of an indigenous identity and history in Bolivia has been done in many cases by emphasizing the highland indigenous history over other indigenous histories. The reconstruction of a silenced indigenous identity meant, in Bolivia, going back to colonial periods and further back. The main figures Bartolina Sisa and Tupak Katari are both leaders that rebelled against the Spaniards. These figures belong to the Andean region, particularly from Aymara communities. Aymara and Quechua indigenous people are still a majority within indigenous people in Bolivia. The rewriting of Bolivian history, acknowledging indigenous people is new and has been the result of a long process of indigenous claims towards the state. It is interesting to notice, in today's process, other histories that have not been told. As a result, there are still other identities as that of indigenous and non indigenous women and of indigenous people of the lowlands that have been more silenced in order to strengthen the bigger ethnic demands.

Michael- Rolph Trouillot points out that the “messiness” of history is due to the fragmenting of power among many voices that create a tangled, layered narrative⁹³. Inside the Legislative Assembly in Bolivia this “messiness” of history and identities on a

⁹³ Trouillot Michel-Rolph, *Silencing the Past*, (Beacon Press: 1995).

plurinational space has become evident. History is not a fixed reality, but rather an ongoing dialogue between numerous narrators and actors, Trouillot stated. These dialogues that also occur on a confrontational manner are happening among the numerous narrators and actors inside the Assembly. Historical narratives are being born with new state political actors. Actors that have been long silenced are now in power positions to reinterpret Bolivian history. These historical narratives will be the foundations of the Bolivian plurinationality in the future and are being shaped in present interpretations of the past. The unthinkable factor of this process was the victory of the indigenous presence inside the Bolivian state given a long subordination of these nations. The unthinkable factor that this same process is leading to is the silencing of other identities and histories. It is unthinkable since the creation of a plurinational state had hoped and aimed at acknowledging the plurality of nations within the state. Then again, can history be done without silencing other histories? Trouillot argues that silences are inherent in history making. The fact of recording certain histories is alone a process of leaving out other histories, the author stated. While Trouillot's lack of optimism has strong foundations in reality, history is always in the making and unfinished. Furthermore, it is still important to make visible marginalities within marginalization. However, it is also crucial to be wary in the Bolivian case, to diffuse and fragment a process aimed at considering a plurality of actors. Instead, the final objective is to deepen the already ongoing *change process*. The acknowledgment of diverse indigeneities and discriminations is a step forward for the actual political debates going on in Bolivia today.



Illustration 3: Three women in the Legislative Assembly (Photo taken by Luciana Molina)

The Bartolina Sisa, female indigenous leader figure has been used also in a highly controversial and contradictory encounter. President Morales was accused of *machismo* when he sang during the carnival about taking Bartolina Sisa and his female ministers to bed. Both Delgado and Montano from the MAS political party, defended the president stating that his *coplas* (singings) were part of a tradition and that they were done on a joking tone. The two non-indigenous women are in charge of the Legislative. Rebeca Delgado is the president of the Chamber of Deputies and Gabriela Montano is the president of the senate. Feminists groups have criticized both women for not assuming or

addressing gender issues. Recognized feminists, such as Marcela Revollo and the *Mujeres Creando* movement, stated that both presidents of the legislative are reproducing patriarchal relations by defending and supporting *machista* practices. During my research many women involved with gender issues in La Paz said that they are under the impression that even though it seems that women have a central stage inside the state, in reality female *masistas* handle issues in a patriarchal way. Others believe that women are still victims in this process since they are being used for political matters. Nevertheless, some women I have spoken with, inside the legislative do not relate to feminist inside the assembly. Usually, feminists have been closely related to *mestizo* urban women, which is why I think many indigenous woman are not interested in their feminism.

Identities are being redefined inside the Legislative Assembly today in Bolivia. New national identities are being formed, some are being reconstructed and some are being forgotten. All of this is happening inside a highly political realm of crucial importance for identity formation. Another good example of how identities are being redefined is how the Parliament changed its name to Plurinational Legislative Assembly in order to build different dynamics than those that existed before. There was a lot of insistence on changing the names and rules of almost all of the state institutions to break with the old system. The appropriation of the institutional spaces was given on many levels. New names, new actors, and new symbols were being placed over old symbols. Hoping that the old system would disappear and a new system would bring prosperity and resolve the long-standing inequalities of the country. It is through these symbolisms that we can acknowledge the representations of how the government represents indigeneity. Indigeneity is represented not only through flags, paintings, and meals, but also represented on the discourses and practices of the actors involved with the state.

The coca leaves on the tables, the indigenous flag beside the tricolor flag, all inside a structure that is supported by Corinthian pillars; contrasts are present everywhere inside the Bolivian society and institutions. Some contrasts are less dramatic than others. One dramatic contrast that occurred was known as the TIPNIS⁹⁴ conflict. The contrast became visible when the MAS party, who openly supported indigenous peoples claims, was supporting the construction of a highway inside low land indigenous lands. This differentiation between an “us” and a “them” nourished between indigenous people from the highlands and indigenous people from the lowlands. In 2011, indigenous people from the lowlands opposed to the construction of the highway, and it was one of the most important conflicts that the Morales’s government had since its election on 2009. This particular event was hard on the government since its opponents were no longer right wing politicians, or landowners, or enterprises, but instead, they were indigenous communities.

Indigenous authenticity was being discussed often in political debates during this time. Many stated that Evo Morales, who was supposed to represent indigenous people from Bolivia, was not keeping up with his promises. After all, the indigenous people from the lowlands stated that they had the right to refuse the construction of the highway because the new constitution alleged so. The government’s plan to construct the highway in the middle of an indigenous territory did not seem very “indigenous”. On the other hand, the government stated that the indigenous communities from the lowlands were a minority and that most of the indigenous communities along the highway would benefit from the highway to get their products out. The government also stated that it was U.S. funding that supported the TIPNIS indigenous groups against Morales in order to create

⁹⁴ TIPNIS stands for Territorio Indigena Parque Isiboro Secure.

chaos within indigenous groups in Bolivia. The outcome was that some indigenous leaders that once supported the MAS party abandoned the party. This decision, according to Pedro Nuni⁹⁵, an indigenous opponent of the TIPNIS highway that was chosen deputy by the TIPNIS region, had severe consequences in his political platform. During an interview that I had with the leader, he said that he was politically “frozen” and ignored by the majority of the Legislative Assembly that supports the MAS decision of building the highway. He also stated that the government pays more attention to indigenous highland demands than of the lowlands. He also mentioned that it is with the TIPNIS conflict that some differences among indigenous groups were revealed. Conflicts and alliances may change in different times; what is interesting to notice is under what circumstances identities are assembled.

What looked surreal to me when I first entered the legislative assembly reflects accurately the contradictions and contrasts of the present political project. Inside the assembly, continuities in the changes and changes in the continuities are revealed. The new Plurinational state is trying to recover some indigenous identities that were close to being forgotten or erased by the long colonization process. Other indigenous identities such as of those of the low lands are starting to be revealed, while some other indigenous identities such as gender identifications are being obscured. Akhil Gupta⁹⁶ suggested that identities are never finished or completed. Identities are performed and formed in particular circumstances. Identities are not homogenous, static or closed. Some are redefined, some are recovered and some are being collectively forgotten. Power is an

⁹⁵ Pedro Nuni once was chosen deputy with the MAS party. He was one of the main leaders that organized a massive social movement, which started from the lowlands and moved toward La Paz, in order to demand the government to step back on the decision of building the highway.

⁹⁶ Gupta Akhil and James Ferguson, “Beyond Culture: Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference”, *Cultural Anthropology*, Volume 7, Issue 1 (1992), 6-23.

important factor that authorizes some identities to be conceived or neglected. In this sense, a quotidian analysis inside the legislative allows us to uncover identities that are more ignored than others. In order to highlight marginalities within marginalization, it is crucial to pay attention to which identities are less successful than others inside the political arena.

Chapter 3

The creation of a plurinational state in Bolivia, as we have seen is a process of the construction of history, symbols, representation, and institutions. The legislative assembly is one of the most public and salient institutions where the new history and symbols of the plurinational state can be revealed. The greatest change that the Evo Morales government has accomplished is a strong indigenous presence inside many state institutions, however there are tensions that arise in the “decolonization” project that the government seeks to achieve. In the following chapter the tensions will be analyzed from interviews, legislative studies and the participant observation held in the legislative during 2012.

NEW CRITIQUES TO THE MAS GOVERNMENT

Unlike past critiques of the “proceso de cambio” that usually came from conservative sectors of society, in the past couple of years a critique from the left towards the government has gradually increased. At first, it seemed like there was vaguely some opposition that came from the left, however little by little, further questioning of the MAS government from the left became more evident. The TIPNIS, and some feminist organizations (with less impact than the TIPNIS) were the first that pointed out severe contradictions and publicly manifested against the Morales government. The second important rupture that the MAS had was with the Central Obrera Boliviana (COB). During the first half of the year 2013, the COB announced several manifestations demanding a rise in their retirement pension and paralyzed several cities nationally. Later on, the government and the COB achieved an agreement where the government compromised on the raise of their pensions. However, during the turmoil, on March 2013 in Huanuni (Oruro) the COB established the Partido de los Trabajadores (PT) or Workers

Party and announced to run for the elections of 2014⁹⁷ against MAS. On August 2013, the branch of CONAMAQ that questions the government, made an agreement with former president of the Deputy Chamber and now dissident, Rebeca Delgado and other 4 MAS deputies to defend indigenous people and make an alliance inside the legislative⁹⁸. There is a strong critique of the process from many people that support the “proceso de cambio” but that are not satisfied with many inconsistencies between the discourse and the practice. The tensions or ruptures that became visible in the past couple of years correspond to a critique that is given from certain branches of the left in Bolivia, some feminist groups, from indigenous communities from the highlands and lowlands (CIDOB- CONAMAQ), Central Obrera Boliviana (COB), and even from MAS militants that became dissidents like Rebeca Delgado.

Also, according to many interviews held inside the legislative many members of the MAS party stated that the first period of legislation corresponded to set the ideological bases for the government and that the second governmental period was supposed to canalize pragmatically the main objectives set by the party. In this sense, the first legislative assembly had more discussion and debate because the first Parliament needed more support from the opposition and because this legislative term was establishing the ideological bases for the MAS party. During the second presidential term the MAS had accomplished a majority inside the senate and inside the deputy chamber, which made all the laws, approved systematically and certainly with less debate and discussion. Some deputies from the opposition stated that the MAS party started to write

⁹⁷ Mejia Juan, “PT prioriza tramite de personeria juridical”, *La Razon*, July the 1st, 2013, http://www.la-razon.com/nacional/PT-prioriza-tramite-personeria-juridica_0_1861613856.html.

⁹⁸ “Librepensantes firman alianza con CONAMAQ para conformar bloque indigena legislativo”, *El Diario*, August 10, 2013, http://www.eldiario.net/noticias/2013/2013_08/nt130810/politica.php?n=67&-librepensantes-firman-alianza-con-conamaq-para-conformar-bloque-indig.

most of the laws through all its magistrates to be afterwards “socialized” inside the MAS’s regional and national brigades. Interviews with some deputies from the MAS stated that the second presidential term marked the beginning of a stronger construction of the state through the quantity of laws that would be passed in order to achieve what the constitution promised.

TENSIONS IN THE PLURINATIONAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY STATE OF BOLIVIA

There are four salient characteristics that show the unresolved tensions inside the plurinational state. The first characteristic shows that there are many left groups inside the MAS, which at times constitutes problematic encounters. The second element shows that mathematically 50% of women are inside the legislative however only 23% of women have “titular” positions. A third element shows that it is difficult for indigenous people to be active in the legislative dynamics when the dominant language is still Spanish. And a fourth and last element shows that there is a strong cooptation of social organizations inside the MAS political party and that excessive centralization on the political party may lead to a rupture with the social bases. All of these elements will constitute the tensions that the current Morales government has.

1. Although there are many factions and organizations that compose the MAS party, a statist approach that is more linked to a socialist and gramscian approach has prevailed inside the state. The creative contradictions that Garcia Linera mentions suggest the tensions between the lefts that conform the MAS and other sectors of the Bolivian society and also reveal the governmental decision on how to choose between the dilemmas that are posed.

The speech of Alvaro Garcia Linera during the *VI Foro Internacional de Filosofia* in Venezuela, mentioned four creative contradictions in the midst of a revolution. The

speech shows some of the major tensions that are found inside the “proceso de cambio”. He mentioned that the first creative contradiction was the concentration or democratization of decision-making. If there is a concentration of the decision being made a new elite is being constituted. However, he stated, if all the decisions are democratized then the decisions are paralyzed. Afterwards, the social organizations are going to make the political party accountable for its lack of decision-making.

The second creative contradiction is between a “strong nucleus” and a hegemonic irradiation or expansion. Garcia Linera states that the peasants and indigenous people are the strong nucleus of the revolution, they are a political vanguard, however this nucleus must be able to lead the revolution and include other social classes. The hegemony is accomplished when all groups in society are part of the process. Hegemony is an intellectual and moral leadership, Garcia Linera said. But, how much should the process expand and irradiate to other social classes? That is the second dilemma he posed.

A third contradiction that Garcia Linera referred to is between a general and the particular interests of the country. In order to make his point, he mentioned that there are indigenous communities from the lowlands that demand big portions of land for an indigenous minority, while a majority of an indigenous population in the highlands has smaller portions of land. Linera states, particular interests sometimes collide with a general interest. In this sense, the general interests are represented by the highland while the lowlands represent particular interests. He clearly makes a reference to the TIPNIS case in this contradiction by explaining a logic that the government used in order to resolve this contradiction.

The last creative contradiction that the vice-president mentioned is the tension between development and ecological preservation. Garcia Linera stated that it is

necessary for the revolutionary processes to translate quickly into economical results. Redistribution and generation of the wealth must occur. However, he said, ecology is affected in the attempt to generate more wealth. He mentions the case of a hydroelectric inside a forest and the damage it may cause to nature, however he added, that same hydroelectric would give the source of light to many communities in need. How to handle this contradiction, if we need to satisfy the basic necessities for the people? He added.

It becomes evident from the exposition of the four creative contradictions how the government resolves has been resolving conflicts. On the four cases there is a concentration of decision-making that comes from the state: 1. Concentration in the decision-making is preferred over democratization. 2. A hegemonic irradiation is chosen over making the decisions inside the “strong nucleus” 3. The general interests prevail over particular interests, and finally 4. Development predominates at the expense of ecological preservation.

Garcia Linera ended his speech by stating that there is no way out of the contradictions. It may be that there is no way out of the contradictions, however the government faces them the contradictions under certain logics. It seems that a political agenda with wider centralization of the state in order to bring about hegemony has prevailed. In other words, there is a statist approach that has prevailed inside the lefts in the MAS party. Many laws aim at alleviating poverty and strengthen the economical sector by the construction of roads, nationalization, and elevating salaries. An indigenous “cosmovision” is less present on the policies that are implemented and more present on the speeches and symbols posed by the plurinational state.

2. The second tension that has been widely debated is the female presence inside the legislative assembly. The MAS has been emphatic on having gender equity inside the

legislative and has managed to implement a quota of 50% of women. According to a report established by the United Nations out of the 130 deputies in the legislative assembly in Bolivia, 41 are indigenous, but only nine of them are women. The study highlights that indigenous women's inside the legislative spheres has been a major challenge, since they face "triple discrimination": being female, indigenous and poor⁹⁹. While several attempts to "include women" in national politics have been done. Their participation in the deputy chamber is more difficult than in any of the other indigenous deputies.

A disadvantageous position of indigenous women in the legislative is visible and most of them still have secondary roles. A figure that shows how difficult it is for indigenous women to enter a political organization and finally get to the legislative is that there is not a single female inside the seven indigenous districts. In other words, the obstacles that indigenous women have to overcome in order to become national leaders is harder than any other deputies inside the legislative.

On 2012, both presidents of the deputy chamber and senate were women. Publicly, it seems that women have a central role inside the legislative, which does not portray quite accurately the dynamics held inside the assembly gender wise. In real terms this 50% of women is distributed according to the following: 27% are substitute deputies, that rarely get to participate in the legislative sessions, and only 23% of women have titular positions in the deputy chamber.

⁹⁹ "Indigenous people in Latin America improve political participation, but women lag behind, says UNDP", *United Nations Development in Latin America and the Caribbean Program*, May 22, 2013, <http://www.undp.org/content/rblac/en/home/presscenter/pressreleases/2013/05/22/indigenous-peoples-in-latin-america-improve-political-participation-but-women-lag-behind-says-undp/>.

Beyond strict mathematical figure of women participation, there has been an ambivalent political position towards women and gender issues inside the legislative. In one side, the legislative has approved important laws regarding gender equality such as the law to guarantee women a violence free life. But still some controversial and detrimental topics regarding women have also been held up for debate such as a law that sought to impose a special tax to women that do not have children. The law was debated inside the legislative after a joking comment that president Morales made a couple of days earlier referring to the little population that Bolivia has compared to other Latin American countries. He said, “Companeros and companeras it is forbidden to use condoms, we have insufficient habitants”¹⁰⁰ on a joking tone. Overall, many public declarations made by high members of the MAS party including president Morales have targeted women in a joking tone. These declarations were detrimental and ambivalent towards the policies implemented by the party regarding gender. On 2013, Rebeca Delgado, one of the central female actors of the MAS party and president of the Deputy Chamber of 2012 was no longer president and became a strong dissident of the MAS party however still supports the “proceso de cambio”.

3. The political logic inside the legislative is very different from the logics of political organizations inside an Ayllu, labor unions, or smaller political districts such as municipalities. The gap between the political practices and know-hows of political organizations outside the state and inside the state makes it hard for the new actors to have active roles inside the legislative. Even the political strategies work differently in

¹⁰⁰ “Evo bromea con intencion de prohibir uso de condones”, *Los Tiempos*, March 17, 2013, http://www.lostiempos.com/diario/actualidad/nacional/20130317/evo-bromea-con-intencion-de-prohibir-el-uso-de_205906_440868.html

the legislative than inside other political organizations because they are positioned differently on the power relation board.

In addition to the conflicts mentioned, there are social and cultural elements that make an indigenous presence inside the legislative more problematic. The language barrier is still a major impediment since many indigenous deputies speak other languages, besides Spanish, as their first language. Although, the use of all indigenous languages is admitted and simultaneously interpreted inside the assembly, the language that dominates the legislative space is still Spanish. A study in the legislative shows that the use of indigenous languages inside the legislative is scarce because some indigenous deputies prefer to speak Spanish or not speak at all because they feel people laugh at their pronunciation of Spanish, because most deputies do not wear their headphones to listen to the translation, or because Spanish has become the “official” language in the legislative chamber¹⁰¹.

Another language barrier that is commonly ignored is the legal jargon that is used on a regular basis in the legislative. The legislative assembly is full of procedures, codes, and legal jargon. All of them (procedures, codes, and legal jargon) are foreign to most of the people that do not have parliamentary experience, yet they are ultimately necessary participate, at least minimally, in some legislative sessions. Another element is added to the conditions or obstacles that limit activity in the legislative body, which are the academic or professional backgrounds that many of the indigenous deputies lack. Degrees are powerful in the legislative. In 2012, the presidents of both the chamber of deputies and senate had academic degrees. Not only is the academic and professional

¹⁰¹ Chavez Patricia, ¿De la colorida minoría a una mayoría gris? Presencia Indígena en el Legislativo, (Stiftung-Gente Comun: 2012), 44-45.

title¹⁰² important as a title alone, because of its prestige, but because it is easier to understand a bureaucratic language common inside the legislative.

For most of the indigenous deputies that come from a different political background entering the legislative space presented certain conflicts or/and complications. The political experience as authorities inside their communities or in labor unions worked substantially different from the legislative assembly. The formal procedures that the legislative space observes in order to elaborate laws was foreign for many indigenous deputies that used different political norms in their communities and/or unions. Many of the deputies from other political experiences had to re-learn different political practices such as how much time they had to talk during the sessions, what subjects to talk about at different times, how to propose initiatives for laws that were of interest to them, how to work inside commissions, etc.

Some of the main cultural elements that we have already mentioned prevent indigenous people from participating in the legislative and paradoxically their presence inside the state places them as an “other” inside a sphere that continues to be foreign to them. An indigenous presence inside the legislative proves that many legislative practices and codes are still discriminatory and that while the actors have changed the functioning of the legislative has not.

4. The final tension is the clearest political division that exists in the legislative assembly and it is the political party division. Political parties overcome the power of ethnicity, social class, gender, region or any other components. Deputies sit down according to their political party and most of the decisions are taken following what is stated on the parties meetings. This means that the priority in the legislative, as in most of

¹⁰² Some interviews on academic titles in the legislative are found on Ibid.43.

the institutions, is the welfare and survival of the political party. This situation would tend to privilege the political party at the expense of gendered, class or ethnic demands. In consequence, a possible danger is that the political party slowly drifts apart from its bases in society.

A majority of the MAS on both houses has automatically created a legislative where very little is coordinated with other political parties. An opposition member stated in an interview I made that the opposition stopped trying to dialogue with the MAS and just focused on opposing to certain important laws thus in the future stay on the record on their positionality.

A centralization on political parties also brings about a political logic that tends to be hierarchical and very little is known on how democratic the decisions are made inside the political party. Under this logic, other elements start to matter such as positions that area available for the party, or the money that is needed for the campaigns, etc.

Political parties unlike other political organizations like ayllus, neighborhood associations among others, also have a continuous preoccupation, which is to prepare to win in the elections (presidential, municipal, etc) almost every year. The stakes to win a presidential election are very high which are incentives to form clientelism networks on highly corrupt states.

No matter how progressive the MAS has been ideologically, the legislative functioning did not overcome the strict structure of a political party. Three deputies from the MAS stated that if a deputy does not agree with decisions made by the MAS party those dissidents would enter the “freezer” where they would be left out with no possible political movement in the party, the legislative or the state.

Unlike what many social organizations and citizens expected, a return to a political party mechanism was not changed. Many expected that under the MAS party, political party dominance was to be crashed in order to democratize representations and not only respond to the interests of high political party members.

Conclusions

The Legislative gathers ruins of past political projects with a “new” political project that has been carried out by the MAS party. The contrasting Greek pillars with the rainbow indigenous flag, the coca leaves and the golden chairs, only give us a first glance of the existing contradictions and tensions inside the Morales government that are becoming more evident as time goes by. Tensions arise in the process of the creation of a “new” Bolivian state. One of the most important bases to create a national identity is the creation of a shared past. Alonso stated “Temporalizing and memory-making mediate the identity of people and heritage in space just as the representation and organization of space mediates the identity of people and heritage through time”¹⁰³. It is through the analysis of what history is being recovered inside the speeches and the preamble of the constitution, that tensions of the “proceso de cambio” become visible.

The creation of the “new” plurinational state in Bolivia has very important transformations for the state, for indigenous identities, and for a plurinational history. A new discourse has taken place where the national history and symbols have been changed towards a more Andean indigenous recount of a Bolivian past. The most important transformation of the election of president Morales, in the short term, is that a new political elite that identifies themselves with being indigenous or coming from indigenous backgrounds has for the first time in the Bolivian history a significant presence. The creation of seven indigenous districts on the Morales government also is an important event that has had impact inside the legislative but also on a national level, especially for indigenous minorities. The presence of indigenous people inside state institutions like the

¹⁰³ Alonso Ana Maria, “The Politics of Space, Time and Substance: State formation, Nationalism, and Ethnicity”, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 23 (1994), p.387.

legislative space has caused effects inside the state but also outside the state institutions, specially regarding identification.

A strong indigenous presence is transforming a national identity and a national history with “new” narratives and symbolisms that are being used inside the legislative spaces as well as other state institutions. However, the new transformations of the state institutions that are becoming more visible present new tensions and old tensions. The construction of the new plurinational state like the state built back in the nineteenth century has created violent encounters. Alonso noted that once the state has appropriated a multicultural agenda that “allows” plurality, race and culture are conflated and the state gives itself a privileged role in building community out of difference. Consequently, the ethnic heritage of low status subjects is aestheticized and commodified by the state¹⁰⁴. At the same time, in order for the state to create a unified identity, it creates a unified past that silence many pasts that cannot be incorporated because they break with a union created by the state in order to benefit state dominance. Bolivia has broken with an all mestizo elite that dominated state institutions. However the Bolivian state is stronger than ever since now it converges many social and indigenous organizations inside the state.

Indigenous identities are always under transformations, and this is also visible inside the legislative in Bolivia. As in many political spaces, indigeneity is being redefined in opposition not only to mestizos, like it happened before but to other indigenous communities that have different and sometimes clashing interests. This is exemplified with the TIPNIS case, where indigenous leaders from the lowlands that once belonged to the MAS party have distanced themselves from the party. They made clear

¹⁰⁴ Alonso Ana Maria, “The politics of Space, Time and Substance: State formation, Nationalism, and Ethnicity”, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 23 (1994), 396.

that their political agenda does not correspond with some aymara and quechua's political agenda, more linked with the MAS party.

The significant indigenous presence inside the Legislative has made more visible indigenous discrimination. For example, the difficulties experienced by indigenous people inside the Deputy Chamber are tougher than of those non-indigenous deputies. At the same time the triple discrimination that indigenous women experience makes it harder for them to participate actively in the legislative's decision making. Special attention must be given to indigenous communities that suffer several discriminations at once. The danger of creating a unified indigenous identity inside a political party is that it tends to dissolve indigenous marginalities among indigeneities, in most cases to keep the political party unified.

A strong cooptation of indigenous organizations inside the state could backfire. The once autonomous indigenous organizations that did not respond to political parties had less power before joining the party but benefitted from autonomy. Now, many indigenous organizations are part of the MAS political party and are inside a political party and inside a statist logic that could be detrimental for the bottom indigenous demands. A political party and a state logic force indigenous communities to discuss their political demands by following a particular notion of political codes, strategies, and practices that are not common to their political vision.

The MAS party does not break with an all statist approach that in many ways also diminishes indigenous organizations since it controls indigenous autonomy from the state. It controls it even when recognizing indigenous autonomy because the norms to acknowledge it have to be approved inside the state institutions and under "formal" political logic. The state institutions do not follow the same customary laws that many

indigenous communities work on. The result is that a state logic still prevails in the plurinational model and at the same time in order to approve other forms of doing politics it is necessary to have the states permission and procedures to legitimize other form of political action. In many ways, it could be said that an indigenous presence is changing the state functioning slowly but that the state has the fastest speed and power to transform indigenous identities and its functioning.

Appendix

Evo Morales Inaugural Speech Inside the Legislative Assembly on January 22, 2006.

Para recordar a nuestros antepasados por su intermedio señor presidente del Congreso Nacional, pido un minuto de silencio para Manco Inca, Tupaj Katari, Tupac Amaru, Bartolina Sisa, Zárate Villca, Atihuaiqui Tumpa, Andrés Ibañez, Ché Guevara, Marcelo Quiroga Santa Cruz, Luis Espinal, a muchos de mis hermanos caídos, cocaleros de la zona del trópico de Cochabamba, por los hermanos caídos en la defensa de la dignidad del pueblo alteño, de los mineros, de miles, de millones de seres humanos que han caído en toda América y por ellos presidente pido un minuto de silencio.

¡Gloria a los mártires por la liberación!

Señor presidente del Congreso señor Alvaro García Linera; presidentes Jefes de Estado presentes acá, muchas gracias por su presencia; organismos internacionales; ex presidentes; al Congreso Nacional; a la Corte Suprema de Justicia; a los hermanos y hermanas de los pueblos indígenas de América, muchas gracias por su presencia.

A todo el pueblo boliviano, saludar desde acá, agradecer a la vida por darme la vida, agradecer a mis padres -que en paz descansen-, convencido que siguen conmigo ayudándome; agradecer a Dios, a la Pachamama, por haberme dado esta oportunidad para conducir el país. A todos ellos muchas gracias. Gracias a ellos estoy donde estoy, y gracias al movimiento popular, al movimiento indígena de Bolivia y de América.

Con seguridad estamos en la obligación de hacer una gran reminiscencia sobre el movimiento indígena, sobre la situación de la época colonial, de la época republicana y de la época del neoliberalismo.

Los pueblos indígenas -que son mayoría de la población boliviana-, para la prensa internacional, para que los invitados sepan: de acuerdo al último censo del 2001, el 62.2% de aymaras, de quechuas, de mojeños, de chipayas, de mulatos, de guaraníes. Estos pueblos, históricamente hemos sido marginados, humillados, odiados, despreciados, condenados a la extinción. Esa es nuestra historia; a estos pueblos jamás los reconocieron como seres humanos, siendo que estos pueblos son dueños absolutos de esta noble tierra, de sus recursos naturales.

Esta mañana, esta madrugada, con mucha alegría he visto a algunos hermanos y hermanas cantando en la plaza histórica de Murillo, la Plaza Murillo como también la Plaza San Francisco, cuando hace 40, 50 años no teníamos derecho a entrar a la Plaza San Francisco, a la Plaza Murillo. Hace 40, 50 años no tenían nuestros antepasados el derecho de caminar en las aceras. Esa es nuestra historia, esa nuestra vivencia.

Bolivia parece Sudáfrica. Amenazados, condenados al exterminio estamos acá, estamos presentes. Quiero decirles que todavía hay resabios de esa gente que es enemiga de los pueblos indígenas, queremos vivir en igualdad de condiciones con ellos, y por eso estamos acá para cambiar nuestra historia, este movimiento indígena originario no es concesión de nadie; nadie nos ha regalado, es la conciencia de mi pueblo, de nuestro pueblo.

Quiero decirles, para que sepa la prensa internacional, a los primeros aymaras, quechuas que aprendieron a leer y escribir, les sacaron los ojos, cortaron las manos para que nunca más aprendan a leer, escribir. Hemos sido sometidos, ahora estamos buscando cómo resolver ese problema histórico, no con venganzas, no somos rencorosos.

Y quiero decirles sobre todo a los hermanos indígenas de América concentrados acá en

Bolivia: la campaña de 500 años de resistencia indígena- negro- popular no ha sido en vano; la campaña de 500 años de resistencia indígena popular empezada el año 1988, 1989, no ha sido en vano.

Estamos acá para decir, basta a la resistencia. De la resistencia de 500 años a la toma del poder para 500 años, indígenas, obreros, todos los sectores para acabar con esa injusticia, para acabar con esa desigualdad, para acabar sobre todo con la discriminación, opresión donde hemos sido sometidos como aymaras, quechuas, guaraníes.

Respetamos, admiramos muchísimo a todos los sectores, sean profesionales o no profesionales, intelectuales y no intelectuales, empresarios y no empresarios. Todos tenemos derecho a vivir en esta vida, en esta tierra, y este resultado de las elecciones nacionales es, justamente, la combinación de la conciencia social con la capacidad profesional. Ahí pueden ver que el movimiento indígena originario no es excluyente. Ojalá, ojalá, otros señores también aprendan de nosotros.

Yo quiero decirles con mucha sinceridad y con mucha humildad, después de que he visto muchos compañeros de la ciudad, hermanos de la ciudad, profesionales, la clase media, intelectuales, hasta empresarios, que se suman al MAS. Muchas gracias, yo me siento orgulloso de ellos, de nuestra clase media, intelectual, profesional, hasta empresarial, pero también les invito a ustedes que se sientan orgullosos de los pueblos indígenas que es la reserva moral de la humanidad.

Podemos seguir hablando de nuestra historia, podemos seguir recordando como nuestros antepasados lucharon: Tupac Katari para restaurar el Tahuantinsuyo, Simón Bolívar que luchó por esa patria grande, Ché Guevara que luchó por un nuevo mundo en igualdad.

Esa lucha democrática cultural, esta revolución cultural democrática, es parte de la lucha de nuestros antepasados, es la continuidad de la lucha de Tupac Katari; esa lucha y estos

resultados son la continuidad de Che Guevara. Estamos ahí hermanas y hermanos de Bolivia y de Latinoamérica; vamos a continuar hasta conseguir esa igualdad en nuestro país, no es importante concentrar el capital en pocas manos para que muchos se mueran de hambre, esas políticas tienen que cambiar pero tienen que cambiar en democracia.

No es posible que algunos sigan buscando como saquear, explotar, marginar. No solo nosotros queremos vivir bien, seguramente algunos tienen derecho a vivir mejor, tienen todo el derecho de vivir mejor, pero sin explotar, sin robar, sin humillar, sin someter a la esclavitud. Eso debe cambiar hermanas y hermanos.

Quiero decirles, a ese movimiento popular, a esa gente andina honesta de las ciudades, especialmente al movimiento indígena originario, para que vean, no estamos solos, ni en los movimientos sociales ni en los gobiernos de América, de Europa de Asia, de África, aunque lamentablemente, hasta los últimos días, la guerra sucia, la guerra mentirosa eso no va; eso hay que cambiar, es verdad que duele. En base a la mentira, en base a la calumnia nos quieren humillar.

¿Recuerdan? en marzo del año pasado, en esta Plaza Murillo querían hacer colgar a Evo Morales, querían descuartizar a Evo Morales. Eso no debe ocurrir, eso no puede seguir compañeras y compañeros. Ex presidentes entiendan eso no se hace, no se margina, se lucha; se trabaja para todos y para todas.

No es importante Evo; Evo, no estamos en campaña ya, solo estamos recordando nuestra historia, esa historia negra, esa historia permanente de humillación, esa ofensiva, esas mentiras, de todo nos han dicho. Verdad que duele pero tampoco estamos para seguir llorando por los 500 años; ya no estamos en esa época, estamos en época de triunfo, de alegría, de fiesta. Es por eso, creo que es importante cambiar nuestra historia, cambiar nuestra Bolivia, nuestra Latinoamérica.

Estamos acá en democracia, y quiero que sepan -sobre todo la comunidad internacional-, como nuestro vicepresidente de la República decía en una conferencia: queremos cambiar Bolivia no con bala sino con voto, y esa es la revolución democrática.

¿Y por qué hablamos de cambiar ese estado colonial?, tenemos que acabar con el estado colonial. Imagínense: después de 180 años de la vida democrática republicana recién podemos llegar acá, podemos estar en el Parlamento, podemos estar en la presidencia, en las alcaldías. Antes no teníamos derecho.

Imagínense. El voto universal el año 1952 ha costado sangre. Campesinos mineros levantados en armas para conseguir el voto universal -que no es ninguna concesión de ningún partido-, se organizaron; esa conquista, esa lucha de los pueblos.

Imagínense, recién el 2003 se ha podido conseguir con sangre el Referéndum vinculante para que los pueblos, los bolivianos no solamente tengamos derecho que cada cinco años elijamos con nuestro voto quién será alcalde, quién será el concejal, quién es el presidente, vicepresidente, senador o diputado; que también con nuestro voto decidamos el destino del país, nuestro futuro. Y ese Referéndum vinculante también ha costado sangre.

Ahí estaba el estado colonial, y aún todavía sigue vigente ese estado colonial. Imagínense, no es posible, no es posible que no haya en el Ejército nacional un general Condori, un general Villca, un general Mamani, un general Ayma. No hay todavía, ahí está el estado colonial.

Para cambiar ese estado colonial habrá espacios, debates, diálogos. Estamos en la obligación, como bolivianos, de entendernos para cambiar esta forma de discriminar a los pueblos.

Permanentemente antes se hablaba de la democracia, se lucha por la democracia, se hablaba de pacto por la democracia, pacto por la gobernabilidad. El año 1997 cuando llegué a este Parlamento que he visto personalmente, ningún pacto por la democracia ni por la gobernabilidad, sino los pactos de la corrupción, pacto de cómo sacar plata de dónde y cómo, felizmente había tenido límite y se acabó gracias a la conciencia del pueblo boliviano.

Maniobras más maniobras. La forma de cómo engañar al pueblo, la forma de cómo subastar al pueblo. Nos dejaron un país loteado, un Estado loteado, un país subastado. Yo estoy casi convencido: si hubieran sido inteligentes administradores del Estado, si hubieran querido esta patria, amado esta patria y no como algunos solo quieren a esta patria para saquear y enriquecerse, si realmente hubiera habido gente responsable para manejar amando a esta patria, a su pueblo, Bolivia sería mejor que Suiza.

Suiza, un país desarrollado sin recursos naturales, y Bolivia con semejantes recursos naturales y con semejante pobreza. Eso hay que cambiar, y por eso estamos acá para cambiar juntos estas injusticias, este saqueo permanente a nuestros recursos naturales.

Después de escuchar el informe de las comisiones de transición, he podido ver como el Estado no controla al Estado, sus instituciones. Una dependencia total, como hemos visto en lo económico, un país transnacionalizado. Su pretexto de capitalización solo ha descapitalizado al país. Su pretexto de capitalización, entiendo que hay que importar el capital en vez de exportar el capital. Solo se exporta al capital y sólo se exporta ahora

como producto de esas políticas de capitalización, al ser humano. No se gobierna así estimados parlamentarios, no se gobierna así, quienes pasaron por el Palacio de Gobierno y por el Parlamento.

La política significa una ciencia de servicio al pueblo, hay que servir al pueblo no vivir del pueblo, si esa es la política. Hay que vivir para la política y no vivir de la política.

Hermanas y hermanos, nuestras autoridades originarias saben exactamente que cuando uno asume ser autoridad, es para servir al pueblo, y estos temas hay que cambiar pues, y están aquí parlamentarios para servir, si realmente están decididos, a servir los 5 años. Eso quisiéramos, en todo caso hay que tomar ciertas medidas para que el pueblo entienda.

Entiendo que la política es una forma de resolver los problemas económicos del país. Hemos visto, hay mucha gente que seguramente vuelve después de descansar un año, dos años para seguir viviendo de la política. Hay que cambiar y estamos con la participación de ustedes cambiar esos temas.

No es posible se privatice los servicios básicos. No puedo entender cómo los ex gobernantes privaticen los servicios básicos especialmente el agua. El agua es un recurso natural, sin agua no podemos vivir, por tanto el agua no puede ser de negocio privado, desde el momento que es negocio privado se violan los derechos humanos. El agua debe ser de servicio público.

Las luchas por agua, por coca, por gas natural nos han traído acá hermanas y hermanos. Hay que reconocer que esas políticas equivocadas, erradas, interesadas, recursos naturales subastadas, servicios básicos privatizados, obligó a que haya conciencia del pueblo boliviano. Estamos en la obligación de cambiar estas políticas.

Constitucionalmente es inconstitucional el latifundio. Lamentablemente por intereses de grupos de poder hay latifundio. ¿Como es posible que haya latifundio?, ¿cómo es posible cuando algunos sectores plantean, necesitan 20, 30, 40, 50 hectáreas para criar una vaca, habría que ser una vaca para tener 50 hectáreas?. Eso es parte de un modelo económico.

Hay familias, veamos en Titicaca, en Parotani, le pedimos a nuestro senador por Cochabamba no se duerma, estamos hablando de Parotani, donde ni siquiera familias tienen 5 hectáreas, ni media hectárea, ni cuarta hectárea, ni siquiera tienen cuarta hectárea, pero si el oriente boliviano por vaca hay que dar 50 hectáreas. Eso debemos cambiar, estamos aquí, repito, para cambiar esta injusticia, esta desigualdad.

Estas políticas económicas implementadas por instrucciones externas, por recomendaciones externas, ¿que nos han dejado?: desempleo. Nos dijeron hace unos 10, 15 años, o 20 años que aquí la empresa privada va a resolver los problemas de la corrupción y los problemas del desempleo. Pasan tantos años, más desempleo, más corrupción, que por tanto ese modelo económico no es solución para nuestro país, tal vez en algún país europeo o africano puede ser una solución. En Bolivia el modelo neoliberal no va.

Producto de la aplicación de este modelo neoliberal hemos visto de cerca qué pasa. El Estado gasta para que un joven, sea del campo o la ciudad sea profesional, la familia gasta para que su hijo sea profesional, es profesional, no hay empleo, ese profesional tiene que pensar en Argentina, Estados Unidos o en Europa. Hoy en día se va a Europa ese joven que no encuentra trabajo, sea profesional o no profesional. ¿Cuántos familiares de ustedes están, sino es en Argentina, sino es en Estados Unidos, está en Europa?, ¿cuantos de nuestros vecinos hermanas y hermanos, es el producto de la aplicación del modelo neoliberal?. Esa es la ley de capitalización, esas son políticas de subasta, de saqueo a nuestros recursos naturales.

¿Y a qué van, a Estados Unidos, a Europa o Argentina o a otros países?, lamentablemente - hay que decir la verdad-, van de meseros. Esos profesionales, van a lavar platos. Duele de verdad, repito otra vez, teniendo tantos recursos naturales que la gente abandone nuestro país. Creo aún todavía, tenemos la responsabilidad de cómo saldar ese error social, económico e histórico, que mejor juntos todos podemos cambiar y corregir esos errores implementados por instituciones seguramente extranjeras.

Imagínense, escuelas rurales llamadas seccionales, sin luz. Estamos en el tercer milenio, que me acuerdo donde nací, donde por primera vez he ido a una escuela seccional, hace dos años ha llegado la luz, pero en otras escuelas seccionales como Acunami, Chivo, Rosapata, Arcorcaya, todavía no hay luz. ¿Como será en otras comunidades?, no hay camino carretero, el profesor tiene que caminar horas y días para llegar a la escuela seccional. ¿Qué han hecho esos gobernantes?, ¿Acaso no sienten lo que sufren las mayorías nacionales, los niños? En vez de juntar plata en los bancos, en vez de ahorrar plata en Estados Unidos, en Europa o en Suiza, ¿por qué esa plata no ha invertido en su país, si son solidarios?

Imagínense ustedes, en el campo sobre todo, la mayor parte de los niños muere y muy pocos se salvan de esa muerte. Estos temas quisiéramos solucionarlos, no solamente con la participación de los bolivianos, sino también de la cooperación internacional. Resolver, no para Evo; no estoy pidiendo participación de la comunidad internacional para Evo sino para el pueblo boliviano.

Y quisiéramos de verdad, de verdad, que haya una conciencia no solo nacional sino internacional. Seguramente algunos países también tienen que ponerse la mano al pecho para pensar en las mayorías no solo bolivianas sino latinoamericanas.

Es verdad que va a ser importante. ¿Cómo buscar mecanismos que permita reparar los

daños de 500 años de saqueo a nuestros recursos naturales? será otra tarea que vamos a implementar en nuestro gobierno.

Por esa clase de injusticias nace este llamado instrumento político por la soberanía, un instrumento político del pueblo, un instrumento político de la liberación, un instrumento político para buscar la igualdad, la justicia, un instrumento político como el Movimiento Al Socialismo, que busca vivir, paz con justicia social, esa llamada unidad en la diversidad.

Tantas marchas, huelgas, bloqueo de caminos, pidiendo salud, educación, empleo, respeto a nuestros recursos naturales, que nunca han querido entender.

Como no podemos resolver sindicalmente el movimiento campesino boliviano se atrevió a resolver políticamente, electoralmente, es el Movimiento Al Socialismo, es el instrumento político por la soberanía de los pueblos.

Para información de la comunidad internacional este movimiento no nace de un grupo de politólogos. Este instrumento político, el Movimiento Al Socialismo no nace de un grupo de profesionales. Aquí están nuestros compañeros dirigentes de la Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia, de los compañeros de CONAMAQ, (se refiere al Consejo Nacional de Marcas y Ayllus del Qullasuyu) de los compañeros de la Federación Nacional de Mujeres Bartolina Sisa, la Confederación Sindical de Colonizadores de Bolivia, estas tres, cuatro fuerzas, algunos hermanos indígenas del Oriente boliviano, el año 1995 empezamos a construir un instrumento político de liberación. Frente a tantos problemas, nos hemos preguntado cuándo se iban a cumplir tantos convenios que firmamos gracias al poder sindical, al poder de la lucha, de la fuerza comunal, que sólo los acuerdos se acababan en papeles.

Debemos tener toneladas de acuerdos firmados en papeles, que nunca han resuelto

nuestros problemas, nunca han podido entendernos, y dijimos: hay que pasar de las protestas a las propuestas. Nosotros mismos nos gobernaremos como mayoría nacionales. Ahí felizmente encontramos gente consciente, sana, de las ciudades, profesionales que se suman y el compañero Alvaro García Linera es uno de los intelectuales profesionales de la clase media de la ciudad que se suma para apoyar al movimiento indígena originario. Mi respeto, mi admiración al hermano Linera.

¿Que hizo el instrumento político?, solo ha puesto en balanza, como decía el compañero Santos Ramírez, que viene de una comunidad, profesor rural, quechua neto, pasando por la lucha sindical, por la Confederación de Maestros Rurales de Bolivia, y con mucho orgullo los quechuas deben sentirse orgullosos, un quechua presidente de la Cámara de Senadores, gracias al voto del pueblo, gracias a esa gente que se sumó.

Y nos decía, como profesor muy didáctico, que hemos puesto en la balanza dos poderes: el poder de la conciencia y el poder económico de la prebenda. Para que sepan las instituciones internacionales, la prensa internacional: el poder de la conciencia ganó las elecciones nacionales y el MAS es el instrumento político.

Y no solamente un triunfo con simple mayoría. Imagínense, del 100% de inscritos para participar en estas elecciones nacionales, 84% va a las urnas, creo que ni siquiera en Estados Unidos hay esta clase de participación. Esa es la vocación democrática del pueblo boliviano.

Inclusive también quiero decirles, pese a la depuración injusta, ilegal depuración que aplicaron desde la Corte Nacional Electoral, señores miembros de la Corte Nacional Electoral, no traten de llevar a un crimen a la democracia. No se hace eso. Acá se trata de fortalecer a la democracia, hay tantos documentos que siguen llegando de como ilegalmente se ha depurado. No importa, pese a esas depuraciones el pueblo boliviano ha

demostrado que hay una vocación democrática para cambiar en democracia la situación económica, social de nuestro país.

Quiero reconocer a algunos medios de comunicación, profesionales que permanentemente nos recomendaban para aprender, pero también a algunas periodistas mujeres. Permanentemente satanizaron la lucha social, permanentemente la condenaron con mentiras. Estamos sometidos por algunos periodistas y medios de comunicación a un terrorismo mediático, como si fuéramos animales, como si fuéramos salvajes.

Después hablan de seguridad jurídica. Quien no quisiera tener seguridad jurídica, todos apostamos para que haya seguridad jurídica, pero para que haya verdadera seguridad jurídica primero tiene que haber seguridad social y eso se logra resolviendo los problemas sociales de nuestro país, y si hablamos de Bolivia, resolviendo el problema económico, el problema de educación, el problema de empleo, fundamentalmente, para que no hayan protestas sociales.

Estimados parlamentarios, hermanos del pueblo boliviano, las elecciones del 18 de diciembre del año pasado, nos han unido a los bolivianos; las elecciones del año pasado han dado esta medida económica en nuestro país.

Estoy muy sorprendido, yo no soy banquero, me he reunido con el sector financiero en La Paz, en Santa Cruz y lo demuestran, hay estabilidad económica, no hay ningún miedo, ni a Evo Morales ni a los movimientos sociales, menos al Movimiento Al Socialismo.

Eran mentiras cuando decían: si Evo es presidente no va haber ayuda económica, si Evo es presidente va haber un bloqueo económico. Quiero agradecer la visita del representante del gobierno de Estados Unidos, señor Shannon. Anoche me visitó a mi humilde vivienda donde vivo en anticrético para expresarme que debe fortalecerse las

relaciones bilaterales, para deseamos éxito en nuestro gobierno.

Hablando del gobierno de Estados Unidos, acabando en el gobierno de Cuba de Fidel Castro, tenemos apoyo internacional, hay solidaridad internacional, y dónde está lo que decían: si Evo es presidente no va haber apoyo internacional.

Felizmente el pueblo es sabio. Esa sabiduría del pueblo boliviano hay que reconocerla, hay que respetarla y hay que aplicarla. No se trata de importar políticas económicas o recetas económicas desde arriba o desde afuera, y la comunidad internacional tiene que entender eso: el querer importar políticas a Bolivia y es un error. Las organizaciones sociales, los consejos de amautas que admiro muchísimo, en el Altiplano paceño, esos sindicatos del campo y de la ciudad, esas organizaciones llamadas capitanías en el Oriente boliviano, son el reservorio de conocimientos, el reservorio de conocimientos científicos de la vida para defender a la vida, para salvar a la humanidad. Se trata de coger de esas organizaciones para implementar políticas y no se trata de imponer políticas al servicio de grupos de poder en Bolivia o en el exterior.

Y esos pueblos, dieron la victoria en las elecciones del año pasado. Nuestro gran agradecimiento a quienes pensaron para cambiar nuestra Bolivia.

Al momento de dejar este Congreso como parlamentario, quiero expresar mis malos recuerdos como también buenos recuerdos. Recuerdo cuando llegamos 4 parlamentarios acá: Román, Néstor, Félix, presentábamos proyecto de ley, ¿qué decían?, no hay que aprobar la ley o proyecto de ley de Evo Morales, si aprobamos vamos a potenciar a Evo Morales, como me bloquearon acá los proyectos de ley que traíamos, entendiendo lo que pensaban nuestros compañeros, sin embargo, protestaban permanentemente, Evo bloqueador, cuando desde acá nos enseñaron a bloquear.

Pero solo quiero decirles una cosa, los parlamentarios que no son del MAS, los partidos o las agrupaciones, si apuestan por el cambio, bienvenidos. El MAS no margina, el MAS no excluye a nadie. Juntos desde el Parlamento cambiaremos nuestra historia.

Y quiero pedirles a los parlamentarios del MAS: no aprendamos la mala costumbre de bloquear. Si algún parlamentario de UN, de Podemos, del MNR, traen una ley para su sector o para su región, bienvenida, hay que apoyarla, hay que enseñar como se aprueba esas leyes sin bloquearlas.

Esta mañana un compañero Héctor Arce, nuestro abogado me recordaba, antes de salir acá a esta sesión, y me dice Evo un día como hoy, 22 de enero, te expulsaron del Congreso Nacional.

¿Recuerdan algunos compañeros?, que Evo es asesino, Evo es narcotraficante, Evo es terrorista. Yo dije ese momento, me estarán expulsando pero voy a volver con 30, 40 parlamentarios, si es posible con 70, 80. Lo que dije un día en el 2002 se ha cumplido.

No me arrepiento. Más bien aportaron con esa clase de actitudes para que el pueblo boliviano, el movimiento indígena gane las elecciones del año pasado. Muchas gracias.

Algunos decían en su debate acá para expulsarme: hay que acabar con el radicalismo sindical; ahora nos toca decir, hay que acabar con el radicalismo neoliberal, hermanas y hermanos.

Pero lo vamos a hacer sin expulsar a nadie, no somos vengativos, no somos rencorosos, no vamos a someter a nadie. Acá deben mandar razones, razones por el pueblo, razones

por los pobres, razones por los pueblos indígenas que son la mayoría nacional de nuestro país.

No se asusten compañeros parlamentarios electos posesionados de otros partidos que no son del MAS. No haremos lo que ustedes nos ha hecho a nosotros, el odio, el desprecio, la expulsión del Congreso Nacional. No se preocupen, no se pongan nerviosos. Tampoco va haber rodillo parlamentario.

Y también recuerdo acá, cuando decíamos con algunos compañeros, ya después del 2002, con nuestro esfuerzo hemos llegado acá, y decíamos ya llegamos acá al Parlamento, al Congreso Nacional, no porque alguien nos ha ayudado, es la conciencia del pueblo, y decíamos, vamos a seguir avanzando porque ya estamos a un paso de llegar al Palacio. Lo que dijimos eso, se ha cumplido, muchas gracias a todos los pueblos indígenas originarios de Bolivia. No nos equivocamos.

Como parlamento tienen una enorme responsabilidad, como parlamento tienen una tarea de cumplir: el pedido clamoroso del pueblo boliviano, que es la Asamblea Constituyente, una refundación de Bolivia que reclaman los hermanos indígenas de todo el país, el movimiento popular. Todos los sectores, queremos una Asamblea Constituyente de refundación, y no una simple reforma constitucional.

Una Asamblea Constituyente para unir a los bolivianos, una Asamblea Constitu-yente donde se respete la diversidad. Digo esto porque es verdad que somos diversos.

Decirle al presidente argentino Néstor Kirchner que está presente acá muchas gracias por visitarnos. Hace dos, tres días cuando visitamos Argentina, conver-samos bastante algunos temas muy importantes. Gracias por sus recomendaciones señor presidente.

Pero después de mirar largamente al presidente Nestor Kirchner, que habíamos sido iguales, porque le he mirado de cerca, el había sido loro blanco, yo loro moreno. Esa es nuestra diversidad, somos diversos, y queremos que mediante la Asamblea Constituyente vivir esa llamada unidad de la diversidad. Somos diversos, y por eso tengo mucha confianza que esa Asamblea Constituyente va ser un espacio, una instancia que permita unir mejor a los bolivianos.

Paralelamente juntos tenemos que garantizar el Referéndum sobre la autonomía. Queremos autonomía, los pueblos indígenas originarios históricamente, antes de la vida republicana de Bolivia lucharon por la autodeterminación. Autonomía no es invento de nadie, es la lucha de los pueblos indígenas de toda América por esa autodeterminación.

Pero queremos autonomía, autonomía con solidaridad, autonomía con reciprocidad, autonomía donde se redistribuya las riquezas, autonomía para los pueblos indígenas, para las provincias, para las regiones. Buscamos eso, y eso se debe hacer uniendo a Bolivia y eso debe hacerse mediante la Asamblea Constituyente.

Yo estoy convencido; si este nuevo parlamento que es producto de las luchas sociales responde al pueblo boliviano, este parlamento será el ejército de la liberación nacional; este parlamento será el ejército de la lucha por la segunda independencia. Por eso tienen una grande responsabilidad de garantizar las profundas transformaciones, y si no pueden acá, seguirán siendo los movimientos sociales, el movimiento indígena que siga luchando por esa segunda independencia de nuestro país.

Por eso, con mucho respeto, les pido cumplir con ese mandato del pueblo boliviano, con ese Referéndum Autonómico y con esa Asamblea Constituyente. Sueño, ojalá todos soñemos, que el 6 de agosto instalemos la Asamblea Constituyente en Sucre, capital histórica de la República.

Instalaremos la Asamblea Constituyente con la presencia de muchos gobiernos, de muchos presidentes, anticipadamente les invitamos a instalar nuestra Asamblea Constituyente. Con seguridad muchos gobierno, muchos presidentes nos van ayudar a orientar esa Asamblea Constituyente.

Que bueno sería, con la presencia de la comunidad internacional de los organismos internacionales, de nuestros presidentes presentes y no presentes, realmente refundemos Bolivia, con, como en España dicen, un nuevo pacto social. Tenemos que llegar a eso, eso buscamos mediante la Asamblea Constituyente.

Que de verdad tenemos muchas ganas y muchos deseos de cambiar nuestra Bolivia mediante la Asamblea Constituyente. Yo estoy segurísimo después de que hemos vivido tantos años de confrontación, es importante ahora cambiar esas confrontaciones.

Quiero pedirles a los movimientos sociales, a esas organizaciones sindicales obreras, campesinas, indígenas de la clase media, a las instituciones colegiadas, a todos y a todas, apostar por ese cambio. Apostemos desde ahora para esa Asamblea Constituyente.

Tengo muchos deseos, estimados parlamentarios, congresistas de Bolivia, que lo más antes posible aprobemos la ley de convocatoria para la Asamblea Constituyente y la ley para el Referéndum Autonómico, y esa es nuestra tarea. Ojalá juntos, el poder Legislativo y el poder Ejecutivo combinemos para avanzar hacia adelante, para profundizar la democracia donde todos tengamos derecho, no solamente a votar, sino también a vivir

bien, cambiando esas políticas económicas.

Con seguridad el movimiento indígena originario, así como nuestros antepasados soñaron recuperar el territorio y cuando estamos hablando de recuperar el territorio estamos hablando de que todos los recursos naturales pasen a manos del pueblo bolivianos, a manos del Estado boliviano.

Yo estoy segurísimo, hay una gran conciencia del pueblo boliviano para estos cambios. Es verdad que en esta coyuntura necesitamos el apoyo de la comunidad internacional. No quisiéramos un Estado mendigo, -lamentablemente nos han convertido en mendigos-, no quisiéramos que Bolivia, su gobierno, sus equipos económicos vayan a pedir limosna de Estados Unidos, de Europa o de Asia. Quisiera que esto se termine, y para que termine eso estamos en la obligación de nacionalizar nuestros recursos naturales. El nuevo régimen económico de nuestra Bolivia debe ser fundamentalmente los recursos naturales. Eso pasará por la Asamblea Constituyente.

Y no solamente nacionalizar por nacionalizar. Sea el gas natural, petróleo, o mineral o forestal, sino tenemos la obligación de industrializarlos.

¿Cómo es posible?, desde el 6 de agosto del año 1825 ningún recurso natural ha sido industrializado en nuestro país. ¿Cómo es posible que eso sólo haya permitido exportar materia prima?, ¿hasta cuándo Bolivia va seguir siendo exportador de materia prima?, ¿cómo es posible?, esos gobernantes, durante la república nunca han pensado en el país. No se puede creer, no se puede aceptar.

Nuevamente digo, he viajado bastante con muchos temas de carácter social, de la hoja de coca, el tema de la OIT, del derecho de los pueblos indígenas, sobre el neoliberalismo a Suiza. Suiza, pregunto, ¿qué tiene?, no tiene ningún recurso natural, pero vive bien,

compran materia prima de los países latinoamericanos industrializan y nos venden a nosotros, y por qué nosotros no podemos vender productos industrializados a Europa o a otros países.

Por eso un desafío , un deseo, una propuesta, todos, sean militantes del MAS o no sean militantes del MAS, si sentimos de esta tierra, de nuestra patria, de nuestra Bolivia, tenemos la obligación de industrializar todos nuestros recursos naturales para salir de la pobreza.

Estoy segurísimo que la participación de nuestros profesionales, de nuestros expertos, convoco a nuestros expertos, a quienes aprendieron, entiendo, son experimentados sobre estos recursos naturales, si todavía no tenemos expertos en temas energéticos pedimos a los países vecinos, países de Europa a ayudarnos a enseñarnos. Estoy entendiendo que parece que no tenemos buenos expertos, tenemos que aprender, tienen que aprender nuestros profesionales, nuestros expertos para industrializar fundamentalmente los recursos naturales como es el gas, el petróleo, y apostaremos a eso recuperando esos recursos naturales.

Hermanos de Bolivia, estimados parlamentarios, a todas las instituciones, a los movimientos sociales, en esta primera etapa vamos a aplicar una fuerte política de austeridad. No es posible que el salario básico sean 450 bolivianos y los parlamentarios ganemos más de 20.000 bolivianos, no es presidente que el presidente gane 27.000, 28.000 bolivianos y el salario básico es 450 bolivianos. Por moral, por nuestro país, tenemos la obligación de rebajar el 50% de nuestro salario.

No es posible que en este parlamento todavía haya ítems fantasmas. Con mucho respeto al compañero Edmundo Novillo presidente de la Cámara de Diputados, no saben ustedes cómo en su infancia ha vivido, gracias a su esfuerzo y su familia es profesional, otro

presidente de una de las Cámaras como diputados, un quechua, un abogado además de eso.

Quiero pedirles a los dos presidentes de las Cámaras, una profunda investigación, quiénes malversaron la plata desde las presidencias, cómo se manejaron, esos ítems fantasmas tienen que terminar, tampoco puede seguir esos gastos reservados, solo para robar y para matar. ¿Cómo es eso, que en un gobierno democrático hayan gastos reservados?. En todo caso va a terminar, y eso está en mi mano. No tengo ningún miedo para eliminar los gastos reservados.

Los parlamentarios de Podemos, del MNR, están aplaudiendo la política de austeridad, muy bien, muchas gracias. Ojalá sea la resolución de este nuevo Congreso.

También quiero decirles estimados congresistas, de cómo cambiar esas políticas sobre la tierra. Quiero decirles que tierras productivas o están produciendo o prestan una función social económica se va respetar, sea 1.000 hectáreas, 2.000 hectáreas, 3.000, o 5.000 hectáreas. Pero esas tierras que solo sirven para acaparar y para negociar eso vamos a revertir al Estado para redistribuir la tierra a la gente que no tiene tierra.

Qué mejor sería, apostaría antes de que se revierta esas tierras, por ley o por decreto, mediante el diálogo, esos que acaparan tierras improductivas que mejor devolver al Estado mediante el diálogo, de esa manera resolver estos problemas de tierras.

No es posible que haya esclavitud en algunos sectores del latifundio. Tienen que ponerse la mano al pecho quienes esclavizan a nuestros hermanos, especialmente en el Oriente boliviano. No creo que sea mentira lo que nos hemos informado por los medios de comunicación, por la prensa. Ojalá no haya esclavitud, ojalá sea mentira lo que dice la

prensa, pero si de verdad hay esclavitud, tenemos que terminar con la esclavitud, que esos esclavos sean dueños de esas tierras en el Oriente boliviano.

Cuando hablamos de temas sociales, imagínense, más del 20% de bolivianas y bolivianos son analfabetos. No se puede permitir que siga el analfabetismo. Como dijimos muchas veces, tenemos muchas ganas, tenemos muchos deseos, no solamente con el apoyo nacional sino también con apoyo internacional, de acabar el analfabetismo.

Saludamos pre acuerdos con el gobierno de Cuba, saludamos pre acuerdos con el gobierno de Venezuela, dispuestos para ayudarnos con expertos para acabar con el analfabetismo.

No es posible que haya hermanas y hermanos del campo sin identificación, sin documento personal. En Europa hasta los perros tienen pasaporte, y en nuestro país hay familias, lamentablemente por la ausencia del Estado ni siquiera saben cuando han nacido, cómo ha nacido. Tenemos muchas ganas de que todos y todas las bolivianas y bolivianos tengan documentación, y ahí saludamos la experiencia de Venezuela como empezó a documentar.

Serán políticas inmediatas que debemos hacer para reparar este daño, estas desigualdades en nuestro pueblo.

Perdónenme compañeros, no estoy acostumbrado hablar tanto, no piensen que Fidel o Chávez me están contagiando, estamos en la obligación de decir la verdad sobre nuestra Bolivia, y para no confundirme primera vez preparé una chanchulla, me está fallando la chanchulla, perdón.

Saben, estimados parlamentarios, hermanas y hermanos bolivianos, que de verdad haya seguro social, hay algunas veces que hay que reconocer, yo respeto, valoro el Bonosol, pero no creo que solamente debemos acabar en el Bonosol, cómo de acá a poco tiempo, que mejor lo más antes posible, que nuestras ancianas y ancianos tengan un seguro social universal para todos este beneficio.

Cómo cambiar por ejemplo el tema de salud, y hay que reconocer también que es un paso importante sobre la Ley SUMI. Respetamos, y apoyamos acá además eso, pero esos temas sociales no pueden ser usados en forma político electoral. Felizmente ya acabó la campaña, y queremos decir -y ahí si vamos a necesitar la cooperación internacional- para que en vez de que solo haya hospital de empresas, que hayan hospitales móviles para los pueblos.

Lamento mucho mencionar, que he entendido, y he visto de cerca la tremenda corrupción en Servicio Nacional de Caminos, como otra aduana. Ojalá por moral algunas autoridades de estas instituciones del Estado ya estén renunciando en este momento para que entre nueva gente, para enseñar como se maneja, se administra con honestidad.

Hay empresas que negocian el 15%, el 20%, quincenos, diezmeros, tenemos que terminar con eso, y para eso de verdad, con mucha honestidad, con mucha humildad les pido a los parlamentarios que no son del MAS: ayúdennos juntos acabaremos. Tienen la gran oportunidad de reivindicarse, ustedes los parlamentarios que seguramente tienen todo el derecho de pasar a la oposición, pero ese tema de corrupción lo debemos acabar juntos. Va a haber una profunda investigación sobre el tema de la corrupción .

No es posible que nuestros gobiernos nos hayan llevado al subcampeonato de la

corrupción. ¿Cómo es eso, cómo don Jaime?, No puede hacer eso, ¿qué dice la comunidad internacional?, la comunidad internacional dice ojalá gane y me decía todos en coro, rechazan, condenan la corrupción, lamentablemente esa es la situación, pero no es el boliviano de a pie, no es el boliviano quechua, aymara trabajador de la ciudad el corrupto. Sabes qué, he escuchado, he visto, estimados parlamentarios, cuando estuve en Argentina, cuando estuve en Europa, Barcelona sobre todo, el boliviano que va allá a buscar trabajo es considerado trabajador y honrado, inclusive no tiene su documentación de residencia, pero el empresario catalán, o el empresario chino en Argentina, con un empresario argentino si se es boliviano tiene trabajo seguro porque es honesto y trabajador. Eso somos los verdaderos bolivianos.

Y por eso quiero ayuda de ustedes de la comunidad internacional, de erradicar la corrupción, porque no podemos que por cuántas familias, por algunas familias, Bolivia que esté figurando en segundo lugar de la corrupción a nivel latinoamericano o a nivel mundial. Eso tiene que terminar.

Ya empezamos con ese sector de caminos. Ojalá en nuestro gobierno podamos integrar Bolivia con los países vecinos, ese es el pedido del pueblo orureño por ejemplo, camino pavimentado Oruro-Pisiga, gracias a la CAF, a don Enrique García, casi yo diría, tenemos garantizado financiamiento para ese camino Oruro-Pisiga.

Ojalá otros organismos nos ayuden, nos cooperen para conectar Potosí con Villazón. Gracias por la invitación al presidente Kirchner que me invita a inaugurar la construcción del puente La Quiaca Villazón. Pronto estaremos allá, con usted presidente. Ojalá haya que firmar algunos acuerdos para integrar Bolivia con Argentina pero para tener el camino pavimentado desde Potosí, desde La Paz hasta Villazón, todavía no tenemos financiamiento. Queremos que los técnicos nos ayuden a estudiar y proponer.

Ojalá ese ansiado proyecto ya esté ejecutándose hacia Brasil, muchas gracias, antes dirigente, ahora presidente compañero Lula, por enseñarme, por orientarme, y por expresar también su apoyo a nuestro gobierno.

Tenemos muchas ganas de conectar La Paz, Beni con Bolpebra, la frontera Brasil y Perú. Es verdad que no tenemos muchos parlamentarios de Beni y Pando. Les pido a los parlamentarios de Beni y Pando juntarnos todos, están saludando muchas gracias, sin egoísmo, sin individualismo, sin ambiciones de poder o económico. Trabajemos por nuestra región, integremos La Paz con el Oriente boliviano haciendo un buen camino hermanos compañeros de Pando y Beni, ese es mi deseo.

Podemos seguir hablando de muchos temas concernientes al desarrollo del pueblo boliviano, pero fundamentalmente va a ser importante potenciar, fortalecer a las micro y pequeñas empresas.

Felizmente así como el Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo, muchas instituciones, las Naciones Unidas, admiran como acá los micro pequeño empresarios generaron fuentes de trabajo, y por eso vamos a cumplir con nuestro compromiso, de crear un banco de fomento para el desarrollo del pueblo boliviano, apoyar a esas empresas comunitarias, apoyar a esas cooperativas, asociaciones de los micro pequeña empresas.

Después de que he viajado en 10 días a 4 continentes, y visitar unos 8 presidentes, ocho gobiernos, me he dado cuenta que hay mucha solidaridad, mucho apoyo, y quiero decirles tenemos la gran oportunidad de aprovechar esa solidaridad, ese apoyo internacional, y eso no es solamente de responsabilidad de Evo Morales es la responsabilidad de todos nosotros los bolivianos.

Y convocamos para eso, nuevamente quiero decirles a los técnicos, que es importante diseñar políticas de desarrollo económico, social de nuestro país.

También queremos decirles a la comunidad internacional, la droga, la cocaína, el narcotráfico no es la cultura andina amazónica. Lamentablemente este mal nos lo han importado, y hay que acabar con el narcotráfico, hay que acabar con la cocaína, no habrá coca cero si apostamos por la cocaína cero, narcotráfico cero.

Aprovecho esta oportunidad para decirle al gobierno o al representante del gobierno de Estados Unidos, hacer una alianza, un acuerdo de lucha efectiva contra el narcotráfico, queremos aliarnos en la lucha contra el narcotráfico.

Sabemos y estamos convencidos que el narcotráfico hace mal a la humanidad, pero que la lucha contra el narcotráfico, que la lucha contra las drogas, que la cocaína no sea una excusa para que el gobierno de Estados Unidos domine o someta a nuestros pueblos. Queremos diálogo de verdad sin sometimiento, sin chantajes, sin condicionamientos.

Y por eso desde acá queremos apostar para acabar ese mal de la humanidad, es importante que los productos de las regiones cocaleras y no cocaleras tenga mercado. Yo estoy muy sorprendido, quiero decir a los agropecuarios de Santa Cruz, tengo dos propuestas de dos gobiernos que quieren comprar azúcar, gobiernos de Asia, especialmente, quieren comprar soya, pero me piden un millón de toneladas año, y hay que producir eso para vender soya al Asia y a otros países vecinos.

Valoro, saludo bastante al presidente de Chile, muchas gracias por la visita. Está acá presente el presidente de Chile.

El movimiento indígena originario empieza a ser historia, y la presencia del presidente de Chile es parte de esa historia, para tocar también temas históricos. Tengo mucha confianza en el pueblo chileno, sus organizaciones sociales, la comprensión de ese estado para saldar o reparar ese tema histórico que tenemos pendiente con Chile.

Necesitamos, como dos países vecinos y hermanos, relaciones. Hasta cuando podemos seguir viviendo en enemistad con un país vecino, y la presencia del presidente de Chile Ricardo Lagos obedece y genera una esperanza para el pueblo boliviano, y por eso nuestro saludo al presidente de Chile que está presente acá con nosotros.

El movimiento indígena practica la reciprocidad. Frente a la invitación del presidente de Chile para la transmisión de mando en Chile, estaremos allá presentes, no tenemos ningún miedo, qué el mejor deseo que vamos a pedir es que les vaya bien a los chilenos, fortalecer los lazos de amistad, fortalecer temas comerciales, de esta manera ir resolviendo problemas históricos.

Es importante hermanas y hermanos de Bolivia, organismos internacionales, estimados parlamentarios que hay que refundar la COMIBOL para reactivar la minería en nuestro país.

Es importante que Bolivia nuevamente sea un país minero como ha sido por años, quien sabe por milenios, es importante fortalecer a nuestras cooperativistas mineros presentes acá con sus guardatojos, y esa es nuestra Bolivia, y esa es la bancada del MAS, mineros, obreros, intelectuales, todos unidos para resolver un problema social y económico de nuestro país.

En este proceso de cambio, quiero pedirle a la comunidad internacional sobre la deuda

externa. Con seguridad los pueblos indígenas no somos responsables de semejante endeudamiento y sin resultados para los pueblos indígenas, eso no significa desconocer esa deuda externa, pero es importante que también la comunidad internacional vea con responsabilidad con seriedad, y pedimos con todo respeto, condonar esa deuda externa que ha hecho tanto daño y causado dependencia a nuestro país.

Felizmente algunos países, felizmente algunos gobiernos, felizmente algunas instituciones ya han demostrado que van a condonar. Decir a nombre del pueblo boliviano, a nombre de esas organizaciones sociales, muchas gracias por esa condonación de la deuda que debe seguir creciendo de esa manera, condonar si es posible toda la deuda externa.

Es importante desarrollar una economía con soberanía, y queremos aprovechar y decir de frente, valorando algunas propuestas de cómo empresas del Estado pueden ejercer, no solamente el derecho de propiedad sobre los recursos naturales, sino como entrar en la producción. Valoramos bastante la llamada Petroamérica y a los presidentes de Brasil, de Venezuela, de Argentina, les pedimos no nos excluyan de una política energética. Juntos todos debemos resolver este tema energético no para Evo sino para el pueblo y los pueblos latinoamericanos.

Es verdad que Bolivia necesita socios, no dueños de nuestros recursos naturales. En nuestro gobierno con seguridad, como ya han anticipado, habrá inversión pública, quiero decir empresas del Estado, sea en América, sea en Europa, o sea en Asia, también habrá inversión privada, socios del Estado, socios de nuestras empresas. Vamos a garantizar esa inversión pero también garantizaremos que las empresas tienen todo el derecho de recuperar lo que han invertido y tener derecho a la ganancia, solo queremos que esa ganancia sea con principio de equilibrio, que el Estado, el pueblo se beneficie de estos recursos naturales.

Estoy convencido que solo produciendo podemos salir de la pobreza, es importante hacer negocios, buenos negocios para Bolivia. En toda esta gira que hice, gracias por las invitaciones, y he aprendido que el presidente del gobierno tiene que hacer buenos negocios para su país.

Nadie me orientó, me he dado cuenta por esas explicaciones, por ese trabajo que hacen, y por eso es importante discutir, analizar profundamente estas políticas de comercio que están vigentes, sea el ALCA, o sea la CAN, MERCOSUR, el TLC, hay que discutirlos, si son mercados para los micro pequeños empresarios, si hay mercados con los productos que genera o que producen, empresas comunitarias, o asociaciones, o cooperativas, si se garantiza en ese mercado, bienvenido, porque se trata de garantizar evidentemente mercados para los pobres, para esas organizaciones.

Y estamos viendo ahí mucho desprendimiento de algunos gobiernos, de algunas instituciones de garantizar mercados con precios justos en estos países. Queremos vender nuestros productos, acá no es un problema de producción, tal vez algunos productos. Hay producción lo que falta es mercado, aquí no faltan riquezas sobran riquezas, esas riquezas lamentablemente está en manos, en poca gente, por tanto esos recursos, esas riquezas deben volver a manos de los bolivianos.

Estoy convencido, como alguien decía, que en el mundo existen países grandes y países chicos, en el mundo existen países ricos y países pobres, pero en lo que si somos iguales es en nuestros derechos, a ser dignos y soberanos, y sobre todo valoro un mensaje que daban nuestros antepasados, Tupac Yupanqui, que decía: un pueblo que oprime a otro pueblo no puede ser libre. Acá no necesitamos sometimientos, ni condicionamientos, queremos tener relaciones con todo el mundo no solamente con gobiernos sino también con los movimientos sociales, ya lo tenemos, queremos profundizar esas relaciones

orientadas a resolver nuestros problemas de los países en democracia, buscando justicia, buscando igualdad. Ese es nuestro gran deseo.

Hermanas y hermanos presentes acá, no presentes en el Congreso, después de recibir ese gran voto en esas elecciones nacionales, muy contento, muy alentado, nunca había pensado estar acá, nunca había soñado ser presidente, muchas gracias al pueblo boliviano.

A los presidentes, son mis hermanos mayores, quiero decirles que no me abandonen en mi gobierno para cambiar mi Bolivia y para resolver los problemas sociales con mucho respeto, con mucha humildad.

De verdad con admiración y respeto, a los representantes del gobierno español, al Príncipe, un saludo especial, un saludo especial sobre todo a la Reina, de verdad quiero decirles he recibido mucha solidaridad de la Reina, claro en este momento en Europa es invierno, ese día que teníamos cita estaba medio resfriado con gripe, la Reina muy solidariamente agarra el teléfono llama a sus médicos y en minutos más ya estaban tabletas para curarme, de Reina a médica de Evo Morales, muchas gracias.

Quiero decirles también a los organismos internacionales, no soy ningún ladrón, quiero decirles que vamos a garantizar la honestidad en mi gobierno, anticipadamente pedir a quienes conformen el gabinete, cero de nepotismo, cero de corrupción será el lema del nuevo gabinete.

Queremos gobernar con esa ley que nos han dejado nuestros antepasados, el ama sua, ama llulla, ama quella, no robar, no mentir, ni ser flojo, esa es nuestra ley.

De verdad quiero decirles a ustedes parlamentarios, quiero decirle al pueblo boliviano desde el Parlamento Nacional, a la comunidad internacional, como primer presidente que vengo de los pueblos indígenas, quiero ser el mejor presidente de los bolivianos y por qué no decirlo de los latinoamericanos.

Y para eso necesito apoyo de ustedes, de todos y de todas, estoy seguro que vamos a contar con ese apoyo, con los aplausos ya han aprobado.

Finalmente, para terminar esta mi intervención, mi respeto fundamentalmente al movimiento indígena originario de Bolivia y de América, a los movimientos sociales, a sus dirigentes que apostaron por este movimiento, a los profesionales e intelectuales que se sumaron oportunamente para cambiar nuestra historia.

Saludar a mi tierra de origen, Orinoca, que me acompaña permanentemente, mi tierra Orinoca, Sur Carangas del departamento de Oruro, que me vio nacer y que me educó para ser honesto, muchas gracias a ese pueblo orureño, al pueblo orinoqueño.

Saludar y agradecer al Sindicato San Francisco Bajo de la zona de la Central Villa 14 de septiembre, la Federación del Trópico, las 6 Federaciones del Trópico de Cochabamba. Cochabamba que es el lugar de mi nacimiento en la lucha sindical y en la lucha política, gracias a los cochabambinos por haberme permitido que yo viva en Cochabamba y aprenda mucho de Cochabamba.

Estas dos tierras me enseñaron sobre la vida, con seguridad ahora será Bolivia que me enseñe a manejar bien.

Cumpliré con mi compromiso, como dice el Sub comandante Marcos, mandar obedeciendo al pueblo, mandaré Bolivia obedeciendo al pueblo boliviano.

Muchísimas gracias.

Preamble of the Bolivian Constitution 2009

En tiempos inmemoriales se erigieron montañas, se desplazaron ríos, se formaron lagos. Nuestra amazonia, nuestro chaco, nuestro altiplano y nuestros llanos y valles se cubrieron de verdes y flores. Poblamos esta sagrada Madre Tierra con rostros diferentes, y comprendimos desde entonces la pluralidad vigente de todas las cosas y nuestra diversidad como seres y culturas. Así conformamos nuestros pueblos, y jamás comprendimos el racismo hasta que lo sufrimos desde los funestos tiempos de la colonia.

El pueblo boliviano, de composición plural, desde la profundidad de la historia, inspirado en las luchas del pasado, en la sublevación indígena anticolonial, en la independencia, en las luchas populares de liberación, en las marchas indígenas, sociales y sindicales, en las guerras del agua y de octubre, en las luchas por la tierra y territorio, y con la memoria de nuestros mártires, construimos un nuevo Estado.

Un Estado basado en el respeto e igualdad entre todos, con principios de soberanía, dignidad, complementariedad, solidaridad, armonía y equidad en la distribución y redistribución del producto social, donde predomine la búsqueda del vivir bien; con respeto a la pluralidad económica, social, jurídica, política y cultural de los habitantes de esta tierra; en convivencia colectiva con acceso al agua, trabajo, educación, salud y vivienda para todos.

Dejamos en el pasado el Estado colonial, republicano y neoliberal. Asumimos el reto histórico de construir colectivamente el Estado Unitario Social de Derecho Plurinacional Comunitario, que integra y articula los propósitos de avanzar hacia una Bolivia

democrática, productiva, portadora e inspiradora de la paz, comprometida con el desarrollo integral y con la libre determinación de los pueblos.

Nosotros, mujeres y hombres, a través de la Asamblea Constituyente y con el poder originario del pueblo, manifestamos nuestro compromiso con la unidad e integridad del país.

Cumpliendo el mandato de nuestros pueblos, con la fortaleza de nuestra Pachamama y gracias a Dios, refundamos Bolivia.

Honor y gloria a los mártires de la gesta constituyente y liberadora, que han hecho posible esta nueva historia.

Glossary

ADN	Nationalist Democratic Action
COB	Bolivian Workers' Central
CSUTCB	Trade Union Confederation of Bolivian Peasant Workers
CONAMAQ	National Board of Ayllus and Marcas of Qullasuyu
MAS	Movement Towards Socialism
MIP	Pachakuti Indigenous Movement
MIR	Revolutionary Left Party
MITKA	Tupaj Katari Revolutionary Movement of Liberation
MNR	Nationalist Revolutionary Party
PODEMOS	Social Democratic Power

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